

quæ amarulenta nostra degustatio fa-
 left: unica in perferendo cruciatu ani-
 equitate ac lenitate. Si osculo proda-
 coarguit quidem, sed non percutit : si
 ito corripitur, ita exprobrat, ut tamen
 uatur : si zelo inflammatus Malchi au-
 gladio præcide
 : loco suo resti
 ctus profugiat, i
 lomiticum adve
 ir, poposceris,
 : filatrum ob
 n acceperit, eun
 adifum introdu
 rifti benigna on
 rifti passiones: q
 d majus ac præf
 is mortem ipia
 tulerit, nos con
 fas & injurias a
 ius? Quin hæc
 n, atque etiamm
 videte) de quit
 e differui. Hi de
 i: hi templa, ne
 quod viva vive
 imæ vivæ, holo

ificia perfecta, Dii denique, Trinitatis
 rata beneficio. Hi populos habent, nos
 gelos: hi temeritatem & audaciam, nos
 m: hi minas, nos orationes: hi quod peri-
 unt, nos quod ferimus: hi aurum & ar-
 itum, nos repurgatam doctrinam. Feci-
 ibi 42 duplices & triplices contignatio-
 (agnosce Scripturæ verba) domum
 flatilem, fenestris distinctam: at hæc
 idum fide mea sublimiora sunt, nec cœ-
 ad quos tendo. At mihi grex exiguus?
 in præcipitia non fertur. At angusta mi-
 aula? sed quæ lupis non pateat, sed quæ
 onem non admittat, nec a furibus, & ex-
 is transcendatur. Nec dubito quin eam
 oque latiore aliquando visurus sim.
 ltos enim ex his, qui nunc in luporum
 mero sunt, inter oves, ac fortasse etiam

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH



ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

WORKS, VOLUME 1

Translated by Leo P. McCauley, S. J., and
 Anthony A. Stephenson

δι' ὧν τ' πικραν ρευσιν ἑξερραπειν
 τῆς ἐν τῷ πάθῃ μακροθυμίας· α
 τι προδοθῇ. ἐλέγχει μὲν, ἔπλη
 ἄφνω συλληφθῇ, ὀνειδίζει μὲν, ἔπ
 μαχαίρα Μάλχῃ τέμνης τὸ ὦν

ἀποκαλασθ
 ρισελῆ· κ
 ῖς ἀγωνίας
 διὰ κακίαν
 εἰσάξῃ δια
 λανθρώπῃς,
 ἔπαθημα
 Θεῷ καὶ θα
 ὁμοίοις μηδ
 ῖρος δὲ καὶ
 ὀμαι, καὶ σῶ
 ἢ πολλάνικ
 τοι τὰς οἴκ
 ς, ἡμεῖς τὸν
 ὦν! ὁ καὶ ζ
 ματα λογικ
 ἀδ' ὁ προ

ἔτοι δῆμους, ἡμεῖς ἀγγέλους· ἔτ
 πῶσιν ἡμεῖς· ἔτοι τὸ ἀπειλεῖν, ἡ
 εὐχεσθαι· ἔτοι τὸ βάλλειν, ἡμε
 ἔτοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ἡμεῖς
 θαρμένον. ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ διώρ
 ροφα; γινώθι τὰ ῥήματα τ' γρα
 πιστὸν, διεσαλμένον θυρίσιν, ἀλλ
 τ' ἐμῆς πίσεως ὑψηλότερα καὶ τ'
 ἔς φέρομαι. μικρὸν μοι τὸ ποίμ
 ἐπὶ κρημνῶν φερόμενον. σενή μ
 πλὴν λύκοις ἀνεπίστα, π
 δεχομένη λησὴν, ἔδὲ ὑπερβαινομ
 καὶ ξένοις. ὄψομαι ταύτην εὐ οἴ
 τυτέραν, πολλὰς καὶ τῶν νυῶ λ
 βάτοις ἀριθμῆσαι με δεῖ τυχόν

*THE FATHERS
OF THE CHURCH*

A NEW TRANSLATION

VOLUME 61

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

A NEW TRANSLATION

ROY JOSEPH DEFERRARI

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THE WORKS
OF SAINT CYRIL
OF JERUSALEM

Volume 1

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GENERAL FOREWORD

Father Leo P. McCauley is responsible for the translation, with notes, of the Lenten (pre-baptismal) Lectures 1-12. Father A. A. Stephenson is responsible for the General Introduction and the *Procatechesis*. Except where otherwise noted, the text translated is that of the W. K. Reischl and J. Rupp edition of the works of Cyril (Munich 1848-1860).

Father Stephenson writes as follows on certain matters:

My general introduction is heavily indebted to many scholars. While most of these debts are indicated, however inadequately and implicitly, in the Select Bibliography, I gladly mention here how much I owe to that great Cyrilline scholar, Dom A. A. Toutée, O.S.B., and to the *Patristic Greek Lexicon* edited by Dr. G. W. H. Lampe, who has conferred an inestimable boon on all students of the Greek Fathers. Instructive, however, as Toutée's dissertations, notes, and critical apparatus still are, there is as yet no modern critical edition of the works of Cyril, and it is good news that this need is very soon to be supplied by Père E. Bihain. Throughout the volume "Lecture" may stand for *Catechesis*; in the General Introduction, "Eusebius" is always Eusebius of Caesarea, "Basil" is always Basil of Ancyra, "the East" does not include Egypt, and "Eastern theology" refers to the tradition originated by Origen and continued by, among others, Eusebius.

A further volume in the series will contain, in addition to the *Sermon on the Paralytic* and the *Letter to Constantius*, the Lenten Lectures 13-18 and the lectures on the sacramental mysteries (*Mystagogicae*) delivered at Jerusalem during Easter

week, although the balance of probability slightly favors the view that these Mystagogical Catecheses are, at least in their present form, the work of Cyril's successor, John of Jerusalem.

BERNARD M. PEEBLES

Editorial Director

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Athanasius* The LNPF volume on Athanasius, by Newman and Robertson. See Select Bibliography.
- C** The "Constantinopolitan" Creed.
- Denzinger H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum* . . ., 32nd ed. by A. Schönmetzer, S.J. (Freiburg i. B. 1963).
- DHG *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, ed. B. J. Ridel (2 vols., London 1938).
- DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant *et al.* (Paris 1903-1950).
- GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig 1897ff.).
- J** The Creed of Jerusalem.
- LCC *Library of Christian Classics*, ed. J. Baillie *et al.* (Philadelphia and London 1953ff.).

- LNPF *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Ph. Schaff and H. Wace (Buffalo and New York 1886-1900; reprinted Grand Rapids 1952ff.).
- LTK *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (2nd ed., Freiburg i. B. 1957ff.).
- Myst.* The (Easter) *Mystagogical Catecheses* of Cyril.
- N The Creed of Nicaea (325 A.D.).
- P Piédagnel's edition or text of *Myst.*
- PG Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*.
- PGL *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford 1961ff.).
- PL Migne, *Patrologia Latina*.
- RR The Reischl-Rupp edition of Cyril of Jerusalem. See Select Bibliography.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. The Lenten Lectures

St. Cyril delivered his pre-baptismal catechetical lectures in the Lent of (probably) 349 A.D.¹ The audience consisted principally of the higher class of catechumens, i.e., those who, having decided to "take the plunge," had, before Lent, given in their names with a view to receiving Christian initiation through baptism by total immersion, chrism and Holy Communion in the night of Holy Saturday and the early morning of Easter Sunday. Since a common name for baptism was "enlightenment," the candidates were called *phōtizomenoi*, "those to be enlightened" or "those being enlightened." Adult baptism, except in emergency, was the rule in the fourth century. Among those present were also many baptized Christians, for whom the Lenten exposition of the creed served as a refresher course. Men and women were separated, occupying opposite sides of the church.²

Cyril never formally published his *Catecheses*. According to a scribal note,³ we owe the preservation of their text to the fact that some of the *spoudaioi* (*dévots*, probably the local monks and nuns) reported Cyril in shorthand as he was speaking. According to this note, Cyril's lectures were taken down in one year only. This statement is a little difficult to square with the extensive variations in the manuscripts,⁴ which suggests stratification there, i.e., that the manuscripts

1 For the year, see Telfer 36-38.

2 *Procat.* 14.

3 At the end of the *Catecheses* in the old Munich MS; RR 2.342-343 n. 20.

4 See especially Toutée's two recensions of *Catechesis* 2; there are two different versions of 2.16-20.

reflect the catechizing of more than one year. Similarly, the advanced theology of the Holy Spirit in *Catecheses* 16 and 17 also suggests a date considerably later than 350. Again, the one-year view is difficult to harmonize with the various indications of the season⁵ and with Cyril's reference to "what has been said to previous classes,"⁶ for Cyril very probably did not give the *Catecheses* before 349, the year represented by our text if it represents the lectures of only one year. Owing to the rule of the secret (attested by the scribal note following the Procatechesis), the *Catecheses* must have circulated privately at first, being available only to the baptized and *phōtizomenoi*. Towards the end of the century, St. Jerome mentioned their being in (public?) circulation: "Exstant eius Catecheses, quas in adolescentia composuit."⁷ This perhaps implies Jerome's belief that the lectures had not been adequately revised.

Syllabus and Arrangement

The syllabus of the *Catecheses*, at least in the form in which they have reached us, is the exposition and "demonstration" of the Jerusalem Creed. The only exception is the second part (18-37) of Lecture 4, and Lecture 4 is somewhat exceptional. The fact that the Creed is delivered to the candidates only at 5.12 may seem to suggest that it was only part of the syllabus. But *Catecheses* 6-18 deal with the clauses of the Creed in order and, as Cyril points out in 18.22, *Catecheses* 1-3 have for their subject the clause in the Jerusalem Creed, "one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins." *Catechesis* 4.4-17 is a summary exposition of the Creed, and

5 At 18.7 ("The season is winter . . ."), Gifford says that this passage and 4.30 "show that the Lectures were delivered in the year when Easter fell early." But in 14.10, spring had already arrived, and not merely official spring, but also the spring flowers. 13.18 may be relevant to this problem.

6 6.21. Cyril apparently refers here to his own previous lectures; he usually refers to himself either by "we" or in the passive voice.

7 *De viris illustribus* 112.

Catechesis 5 deals with the "faith" by which we believe and "the faith (Creed)" which we believe. See also 4.3 and 18.32.⁸ But while it is possible to establish by inspection the fact that the syllabus of the extant *Catecheses* is substantially the Jerusalem Creed, this proves that the entire syllabus of Cyril's Lenten preaching was the Creed, only if it can be assumed that the extant *Catecheses* are complete.

St. Jerome's *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum* 11-13⁹ probably implies that in 394 the syllabus was still, substantially, the Creed. The fifth-century Old Armenian Lectionary gives nineteen lessons for the Jerusalem Lenten preaching;¹⁰ since these agree almost exactly with the eighteen lessons taken by Cyril as his texts, they imply an unchanged syllabus. The Armenian Lectionary represents the Jerusalem liturgy of ca. 440. A rather different picture of the syllabus is given by the western lady pilgrim, Aetheria or Egeria, who spent three years in the Holy Land probably within the period ca. 385-396.¹¹ While in Cyril's time the forty-day Lent probably meant six or seven weeks, in Egeria's time Lent lasted for eight weeks, since neither Saturdays nor Sundays, not being fast days, were counted. The syllabus as described by Egeria fell into two parts; the first five weeks were taken up by a Scripture course; the Creed was delivered at the end of the fifth week and its exposition occupied the next two weeks, there being no lectures during Holy Week. There appears to be some discrepancy between this account of the syllabus and that given by St. Jerome, which seems to agree with what we find in the extant *Catecheses*.

⁸ The description of the syllabus given in *Procat.* 11 is probably compatible with the syllabus being the creed.

⁹ PL 23.379-82, al. 363-66.

¹⁰ *Rituale Armenorum*, ed. F. C. Conybeare and J. A. Maclean (Oxford 1905), Appendix 2, esp. p. 518.

¹¹ Though K. Meister and the philologists want to place the *Peregrinatio* considerably later, and E. Dekkers has advocated the date 415-417. The *Peregrinatio* (or *Itinerarium*) is now found (ed. E. Franceschini and R. Weber) in *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 175 (cf. P. Geyer's ed., *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 39). For Egeria's account of the catechizing and its syllabus, see chapters 45-46.

How were the nineteen Lectures distributed over Lent? Lectures 6-8 belong to successive days (cf. 7.1; 8.1), as also do 10-12 (11.1; 12.4). Lecture 14 was given on a Monday (14.24) and there was one day's interval between Lectures 3 and 4 (4.32). In 18.32, after concluding his exposition of the last clause of the Creed, Cyril says that he has given as many lectures on the Creed as was possible during Lent. The Lectures vary considerably in length and the distribution of the subject matter is uneven, four lectures (6-9) being devoted to the words, "one God, the Father Almighty, Creator . . .," two lectures (16 and 17) to the Holy Spirit, while one lecture (15) covers the Resurrection, Ascension and Session, and one lecture (18) the Church, the resurrection of the flesh and life everlasting.

The most attractive suggestion so far made about the distribution of the Lectures is that of Telfer. Pointing out that Lecture 18 is really a double lecture, so that there were twenty lectures in all, he has suggested that Cyril gave twenty lectures in Greek to the Greek-speaking population and twenty in Syriac (Palestinian Aramaic) to the Syriac-speaking members of the community. Cyril would then have lectured on each of the forty days of Lent, as he perhaps claims in 18.32.¹²

The Jerusalem Creed and its Demonstration

In 5.12 the Creed is formally delivered to the candidates by the Church as represented by Cyril, the local bishop. Cyril's teaching was severely biblical. In 4.17, explaining that the substance of the Lenten course is the "demonstration" of the Creed from Scripture, Cyril says: "Concerning the divine and holy mysteries of the Faith, not even a casual statement must be made without the Holy Scriptures." For Aristotle, "opinion" was converted into genuine knowledge

¹² Telfer 34-36. The hypothesis does not very well explain why Lectures 6-8 and 10-12 were delivered on consecutive days.

by a demonstration (*apodeixis*, Cyril's word) which, grounding particular propositions in indemonstrable, self-evident primary premises, made them luminous and evident. Cyril, apparently following the method of the Alexandrine school of Clement and Origen, keeps but transforms this pattern. Cyril's "demonstration" is highly paradoxical insofar as it shows that the Creed, itself culled from Scripture (5.12), is really contained in Scripture. This procedure grounds the Creed not in self-evidence but in authority and mystery. But the method of the Lectures is also apologetic. Cyril attached immense importance to the proof from miracles and prophecy. Especially from prophecy; in 13.9 he seems to say that the important thing about the miracles of Jesus was that they had been prophesied. Similarly in 14.17, engaging to produce "Scripture testimony" in proof of the Resurrection, Cyril says, "the Lord Jesus Christ himself supplies it in the Gospels"—and then quotes our Lord's appeal to the type of Jonah. It is not, of course (cf. 14.15), that Cyril regarded the New Testament as less authoritative than the Old; he stressed the argument from prophecy partly because it is a rational, apologetic argument (for prediction is miraculous) and partly because the Jews, against whom much of Cyril's argument was directed, acknowledged the inspired character of the Old Testament. Cyril's persistent polemic against the Jews is a blemish upon the *Catecheses*, but it must be remembered that in Palestine the Jews would have been the chief critics of Christianity and Cyril's age was not one that easily distinguished between religious error and bad faith. Cyril assumed that almost every detail of the birth, passion and resurrection of Jesus had been prophesied in the Old Testament; it was a principle of exegesis with him that "concerning Christ all things may be found written; nothing is doubtful, for nothing is without its text" (i.e., in the Old Testament).¹³ Lectures 12-14 provide massive illustration of this method. It

¹³ *Cat.* 13.38; cf. 13.21.

must be admitted—indeed it is the weakness of the *Catecheses*—that much of Cyril's exegesis of the Old Testament is implausible and far-fetched; he produces some better arguments for the truth of the Resurrection in 14.26. Controversial reasoning against pagans is also to be found in Lectures 12-14 and (against the Samaritans also) in 18.1-21.¹⁴ But the argument from prophecy is very prominent; it is probably connected with an anti-Jewish polemic developed in the Church of Jerusalem and may have originated in a collection of "testimonies" and a tradition of exegesis similar to that which K. Stendahl thinks lies behind St. Matthew's Gospel.¹⁵

2. Cyril and "Gnosis"

Gnosis in the early Christian tradition was a complex concept especially associated with the Alexandrian school of Clement and Origen. Gnosis ("knowledge") usually implies a sublime sort of knowledge. The word was often used in a quasi-technical sense. The object of gnosis was usually the world, the self and, above all, God. Gnosis tended to combine mystical with philosophical or intellectualist elements, the one or the other predominating. Since it was commonly held to be obtainable only through a supernatural revelation, it tended to be esoteric. The mystical variety of gnosis was won through asceticism, detachment, and the prayerful study of the Scriptures employing especially the allegorical method of interpretation. It culminated in union with God through love.

In 13.9 Cyril implies that there are two kinds of scriptural exegesis:

¹⁴ Cf. *Procat.* 10.

¹⁵ Cf. K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew . . .* (Uppsala Thesis; Lund 1954). Stendahl thought Caesarea a possible place of origin for such a manual of teaching. Cyril may have been trained in Caesarea. Qumran and Alexandria also had their own special traditions of exegesis. Cyril and the Alexandrians (Clement and Origen) had a good deal in common with Irenaeus and the Apologists.

We are met together not now to make a contemplative (*theōrētikēn*) exposition of Scripture, but rather to be certified of the things which we already believe.

This implies that at least one style of the "ordinary preaching"¹ used the allegorical method of interpretation to bring out the hidden meaning of Scripture or, through a contemplative and mystical approach, sought to lead the Christian soul to the higher walks of the spiritual life. Of this quasi-mystical mode of contemplative exegesis of the Scriptures we appear to have a good example in Cyril's *Homily on the Paralytic*. Beginning abruptly with the words: "Wherever Jesus appears, there is salvation," the sermon constantly recalls Clement's picture of Christ who, as the heavenly Physician, cures the sick soul of its passions and then, as the Teacher, schools it, first by discipline, then by instruction, in the knowledge of Himself as the eternal Word.² In Chapter 2, Jesus is "the physician of souls"; in Chapter 4, salvation is of faith, faith depends on our willing, and Jesus freely gives the will; Chapter 5 has the theme of spiritual enlightenment; in Chapter 6 the Physician by a question leads the sick man on to the true saving knowledge (*gnōsis*) which the sequel soon shows to be the recognition of Jesus' divinity. It is not the three chapters (10-12) of allegorical exegesis that are so interesting and attractive in the *Homily*, but the contented contemplation of Jesus as the place of encounter with God, the place where Plato's *aisthēta* and *noēta* (earthly and heavenly realities) meet, the Jacob's Ladder of the Fourth Gospel. This is the *theōria* (contemplation) of Clement and Origen. So Origen taught that only through the Word can we contemplate God.³ The whole *Homily* is impregnated with the spirit of Clement's saying that the highest *theōria* is to seek for God and strive to come to the knowledge of Him.⁴ The sentence (Ch. 9), "Look into the strong depths of the

1 Cf. the "ordinary homilies" of Procat. 11.

2 *Paedagogus* 1.1-2 (GCS, Clem. 1.89-94).

3 Origen, *In Ioh.* 19.6 (GCS, Orig. 3.305; PG 14.536B).

4 Clement, *Stromateis* 2.10.

spring and glimpse God visible in the flesh," suggests that, as Jesus is reflected in the water, so He is Himself the reflection of God, especially of the creative power of the Father from whom, as the prime source of life and being,⁵ His healing and saving power derives.

In Chapter 19 Cyril describes Jesus as "the Physician of gnosis," i.e., the physician who heals souls by imparting true knowledge, which is the knowledge of Himself and so of the Father. Similarly, "let us beg wisdom of Wisdom" recalls the conception, common to Clement and Origen, of Christian perfection as the true, supernatural wisdom.

Since the Lenten Lectures aim not at devotion so much as instruction, they are not concerned with gnosis in the sense of mystical or contemplative knowledge. It is not surprising, however, given Cyril's *attrait*, to find them once or twice modulating into *theōria*. Such a passage is that (13.30-31) where the eternal Light leads the Good Thief to the light. Another is 10.13, which introduces briefly many of the themes of the *Homily* and concludes with a reference to the paralytic of John 5.

More important is the question—and in determining it we must remember that *gnosis* is not necessarily a technical word for a special kind of knowledge—whether in the Lenten Lectures we find a relationship of *pistis*–*gnosis* (faith–knowledge) that corresponds, though transposed, to their relationship in the Alexandrine tradition.

Here it is a question of *gnōsis* in the sense of a systematic body of knowledge, a transcendent revealed synthesis. The Alexandrians did not separate faith and gnosis, but regarded gnosis as the perfection of faith. Clement thought that the whole gnosis was contained in the Old and New Testaments⁶ and he defined faith as "a sort of concise gnosis of the essen-

⁵ Cf. Eusebius, *De ecclesiastica theologia* 2.7 (PG 24.913A).

⁶ *Strom.* 7.16.95 (GCS 3.67). Thus the earliest conception of "fides quaerens intellectum" and "credo ut intellegam" was of a movement not from the revelation to other knowledge, but "from faith to faith," i.e., to a deeper and fuller understanding of the revelation.

tials, while gnosis itself is a firm and solid demonstration of the truths of faith, being built upon faith by means of the Lord's teaching" (i.e., Scripture or the New Testament).⁷ This is strikingly similar to the project of the Lenten Lectures, the demonstration of the faith from Scripture. Referring in the introductory lecture⁸ to the Lenten enlightenment to which the candidates are looking forward, Cyril says: "We bring you the stones of gnosis." There is an analogy between the relation of Christian faith to knowledge (*gnōsis*) and the Platonic-Aristotelian conception of the relation of opinion or belief to knowledge (*epistēmē*). In the latter system belief or opinion becomes real knowledge when, grounded in the indemonstrable and self-evident primary premises, it becomes incorporated into a systematic body of scientific knowledge. In the Christian system, faith becomes knowledge when "demonstrated" from the divine authority of Scripture. In the Clement-Origen-Cyril terminology this "demonstration" seems to be conceived variously in three ways: (a) The propositions of the creed are simply proved by the authority of Scripture; i.e., it is shown that Scripture contains and warrants them; (b) while it is possible to disbelieve the bare summary of Scripture contained in the Creed, the scriptural gnosis itself, when the whole synthesis is properly apprehended, is self-authenticating;⁹ it stands revealed as a superior philosophy which uniquely satisfies the demands and aspirations of the mind, heart and spirit of man; truth shines in its own light; (c) the (rational) demonstration from miracles and (especially) scriptural prophecies. In all of these ways the propositions at first "taken on faith" are shown to be "warranted"; thus they become the content of "knowledge" (= "excellent" or "enlightened" faith) and belief is converted into certitude.

So when formally "delivering" the Creed to the candidates in 5.12, Cyril says that "it embraces in a few words all the godly gnosis of the Old and New Testaments." Cyril's descrip-

⁷ *Ibid.* 7.10.57 (GCS 3.42).

⁸ *Procat.* 11.

⁹ In *Procat.* 11, Cyril stresses this systematic, synthetic aspect.

tion in 4.18 of the preceding¹⁰ exposition (summary and undemonstrated) of the Creed as a gnosis recalls Clement's remark¹¹ that faith may be allowed to be "a sort of concise gnosis of the essentials." The "demonstration" of the Faith in Lenten Lectures 6-18 corresponds to what Clement calls "the gnosis proper." But a genuine gnosis must be not only a theology but also a cosmology and an anthropology. Cyril gives the Christian answer to the great problems which concern men: the origin of the world, the origin, nature and destiny of man; the question of fate or necessity; the origin of sin; the reasons for the Incarnation; the question of death; the question of salvation.¹² Cyril several times says emphatically that man is master of his destiny and that his salvation lies in his own power. Not even an overt act is necessary; he has only to will it, to make the decision to believe and be baptized. But it is God who saves us; at least in the *Homily* Cyril adds that the initiative lies with the gracious God who gives the will. But while we are justified by faith, works are also necessary; the Christian must keep the commandments; Cyril several times refers to the repentant Thief as an instance of the mercy of God.¹³

In the *Letter to Constantius* Cyril, announcing the miraculous appearance of the luminous cross over Jerusalem, bids the Emperor to build gnosis upon the faith which he already has.¹⁴ Here the idea is that the apparition of the Cross, as the fulfillment of the prophecy of our Lord,¹⁵ is proof of the truth of Christianity and should convert Constantius' faith into gnosis.¹⁶

To draw attention to this pistis-gnosis pattern in Cyril and

¹⁰ *Cat.* 4.4-17.

¹¹ Quoted above, n. 7.

¹² E.g., *Procat.* 3-5, 7, 8, 16; *Cat.* 1.1; 2.1-5; 3.10; 4.18-32; 8.4; 12.5; 13.2, 28, 35 *fin.*; 14.1 *fin.*; 15.3, 25-26; 18.1-8, 18-20, 29.

¹³ *Procat.* 8; *Cat.* 1.2; 2.5; 5.10; 13.3-31; 14.10; *Homily* 4-6.

¹⁴ *Ep. ad Const.* 5; cf. 2.

¹⁵ *Matt.* 24.30.

¹⁶ While the chief message conveyed in the *Letter* is the assurance that the occurrence of the portent in Constantius' reign is a guarantee of heaven's blessing upon that reign, Cyril may well be hinting also

its nominal correspondence with the pattern of faith and gnosis/enlightened faith in Clement and Origen is by no means to suggest that Cyril makes a third with these two powerful and original thinkers. Obviously they stand poles apart. Cyril was an apophatic theologian who repeatedly repudiated speculation. The denatured and formalized gnosis of the Lenten Lectures lacked the profound theoretical structure and presuppositions of the systems of Clement and Origen (for a masterly study of Clement's see T. F. Torrance, "The Implications of Oikonomia for Knowledge and Speech of God in Early Christian Theology," in F. Christ [ed.], *Oikonomia: Heilsgeschichte als Thema der Theologie* (Festschrift O. Cullmann) [Hamburg-Bergstedt 1967] 223-238). It is with the warm and affective Alexandrian mystical tradition, especially the Clement of the *Paedagogus*, that Cyril has some affinity. But now the authenticity of the "Homily on the Paralytic," which leads into the detection of this mode in Cyril is in jeopardy. Bihain has reported that the only works of Cyril known to the Armenian tradition are the Lenten Lectures and the *Letter to Constantius*. We shall see. In any case the data tabulated above remain intact.

J. H. Greenlee¹⁷ has found that the Gospel text of the Lenten Lectures is predominantly the pre-Byzantine Caesarean text of Origen and Eusebius. Quotations of Mark are strongly Caesarean; the material, though small, indicates complete agreement with Origen and Eusebius. In quotations from Matthew the Caesarean character is unquestionable, though weaker in Mt. 1-11. In Luke, again, the Caesarean character of the quotations is clear; quotations show close agreement with Origen, but the relation to Eusebius is unclear. Quotations from John are substantially Caesarean, but here the agreement is with Eusebius rather than Origen. Where not

that it is high time that Constantius be baptized. In Ch. 2, in spite of the construction, *gnosis* is used in the systematic sense (see the next sentence).

¹⁷ J. H. Greenlee, *The Gospel Text of Cyril of Jerusalem* (Copenhagen 1955), especially the tables in Part III of this very valuable study.

Caesarean, the text is Neutral rather than Western. Agreement with the Palestinian Syriac is erratic; it is very high in quotations from John. Cyril's quotations are often allusive and he shows the ordinary patristic tendency, already apparent in the manuscripts of the Gospels themselves, to conflate and harmonize variations between the Gospels. Examples will be found at 15.23 (Luke 17.34=Mt. 24.40) and *Homily* 5, where Cyril conflates Matthew's two stories (9.27-28 and 20.30-32) of the healing of two blind men.

3. The Historical Situation

Little is known for certain¹ about Cyril except that he was bishop of the Holy City from *ca.* early 349 to 18 March 387,² was several times deposed and banished, for many a long year resisted the Nicene definition of the "consubstantial," attended the First Council of Constantinople in 381, and is the author of the first of the two series of Catechetical Lectures traditionally associated with his name. The ancient historians mention Cyril as seldom as do modern Church historians, and their references to him are often as obscure and misleading as they are rare. Moreover, by the fourth decade of the fifth century Church history had already been byzantinized; Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret had little understanding even of the *Problematik* of the great Arian controversy, and they are particularly uninformative just in those areas and at those moments which touch Cyril. St. Jerome, who had excellent sources of information, was blinded by his Western partiality and was particularly embittered against Cyril. The narrowly orthodox St. Epiphanius must likewise have been well informed, but his references to Cyril are also few, brief

¹ Cf. Telfer, General Introduction, first sentence. But Telfer has himself solved some of the problems.

² For the year of his death, cf. P. Nautin, "La date du *De viris illustribus*," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 56 (1961) 33-35.

and somewhat obscure. Again, though belonging to a camp embattled against the strict Nicaeans, Cyril never mentions Athanasius, nor Athanasius him.

It is, of course, possible that the explanation of the early historians' near-silence about Cyril is that he played no considerable part in the great theological struggle. But there are some signs—the animosity of the strict Nicaeans against him is one—that from Cyril a powerful influence radiated. It must be remembered that the key-words and formulas about which our Fathers quarrelled in the fourth century were obscure and ambiguous, and most of those who resisted the “consubstantial” resisted it for the most edifying reasons. Referring to the struggle between Homoousians and Homoeousians (the “moderate” or “semi-Arian” party) Socrates, in a moment of insight, or perhaps quoting a perceptive acquaintance, remarked: “It was like a battle in the dark, with both sides shooting at shadows.”³ Similarly Athanasius spoke of the moderate party as “those who hold the same doctrines as we do, and differ from us only about a word.”⁴ Wolfson has described the position well by saying that when heresy was introduced by Arius, the variety and inconsistency of Trinitarian terminology led to a “war of suspicion” among the orthodox.⁵

Jerusalem and Caesarea

The story both of Cyril's life and of the Arian controversy in Palestine is in a considerable degree the story of a conflict between Jerusalem and Caesarea. It is, therefore, impossible to interpret Cyril's life correctly without some picture of the relationship existing between Jerusalem and Caesarea, the capital (*mētropolis*) of the Roman province of Palestine and,

³ Socrates, *Hist. eccles.* 1.23.

⁴ *De synodis* 41.

⁵ H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers I* (Cambridge, Mass. 1956) Ch. 15, sect. iii (p. 337).

from the time when ecclesiastical administration based on the unit of the Roman province developed, the metropolitan church of at least most of Palestine. The ordinary, or at least majority, view is that Jerusalem had "always" (i.e., really from *ca.* 135) been subject to Caesarea⁶ and that the seventh canon of Nicaea merely reasserted this position, while also confirming to Jerusalem certain unspecified honorary ancient privileges, so that Jerusalem had no reason to be discontented with the canon. The canon reads:

Let the bishop of Aelia [Jerusalem] keep his honorary precedence, warranted as it is by custom and ancient tradition, without prejudice to the proper dignity of the metropolitan see.

This conception of the situation needs, I believe, a slight but important adjustment. I believe that although Caesarea may have gained a widely acknowledged metropolitan jurisdiction over Jerusalem in the twilight period comprising the fifty years before Nicaea, Jerusalem would not have gladly acquiesced in this situation nor have gladly accepted the Nicene canon confirming it. It is unlikely that the canon resulted from an amicable arrangement between the two bishops concerned; for Eusebius of Caesarea and Macarius were champions of opposing theological views before and at the Council. While Eusebius came to Nicaea under a provisional sentence of excommunication for his Arian sym-

⁶ Cf. F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) 21-23. So also S. Vailhé, "Formation du Patriarcat de Jérusalem," *Echos d'Orient* 13 (1910) 325-336, held that Jerusalem had always been suffragan to Caesarea, that *ca.* 196 her apostolicity won her second place in the province and that so the position remained until Nicaea when it was confirmed by the seventh canon. Vailhé allowed a good deal of prestige to Jerusalem, but based this on a distinction between "honor" and jurisdiction" and between the bishop and the see. I suspect that the seventh canon may have created some such distinctions but that they would have been anachronistic before the late third century. W. Telfer and F. L. Cross (*op. cit.*, n. on pp. xv-xvi) are in substantial agreement with Dvornik.

pathies, Macarius was one of the three "theological ignoramuses" whom Arius listed as his chief enemies.⁷

I suggest that the position of Jerusalem was not that of the first satellite of Caesarea, but of a second sun in Palestine; that Jerusalem was virtually a second, smaller metropolitan church in the south of Palestine. Not only did Constantinople I in 381 call Jerusalem "the mother of all the churches," as also did the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but Origen called Jerusalem a *mētropolis*.⁸ Probably while Jerusalem may have been theoretically suffragan to Caesarea, she enjoyed not merely prestige but genuinely substantial privileges giving her a great deal of independent authority; she probably, though the evidence is not decisive, governed a ring of suburban and outlying churches around Jerusalem. Probably F. J. A. Hort appraised the situation accurately (if we give full force to the word "balanced") when he wrote: "All Palestine was subject to the supremacy of Antioch; and the metropolitan jurisdiction of Caesarea over the rest of Palestine was balanced by privileges peculiar to Jerusalem."⁹ In particular Jerusalem appears to have enjoyed the very important privilege of special rights in determining the episcopal succession on the death of her own bishop and probably also in neighboring sees. Normally election was by the comprovincial bishops, although in early times the local people and clergy had a powerful voice. There was a gradual trend towards the transference of the power of election to the comprovincials and especially to the metropolitan, a trend consolidated by the fourth, and perhaps also by the sixth, canon of Nicaea. But it looks as if Jerusalem, like Rome and Alexandria,¹⁰ had retained the

⁷ Letter of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia preserved in Epiphanius, *Panarion* 69.6; also in Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.* 1.5.1-4. A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church* (2nd ed., New York 1862) 260, suggested that the seventh canon reflected a "passage of arms" between Eusebius and Macarius, and he was probably right.

⁸ Origen, *Fr. 58 in Jerem.* (GCS, Orig. 3.277.11; PG 13.584A).

⁹ Hort, *Two Dissertations* 59.

¹⁰ At Alexandria St. Athanasius appointed his own successor before his death in 373.

rights of the local church in this matter, just as these were the three great churches in which government was originally collegiate.

While in general the rank of sees was determined by the place of the cathedral city in the imperial administrative divisions rather than by apostolicity (in the East apostolic sees were two-a-penny), the church of Jerusalem—the church of all the apostles, the church created by the Holy Spirit and situated in the city where the decisive events of salvation history had taken place—was unique; and Telfer has argued impressively that the disasters of 68-70 and 134-5 had not destroyed the continuity of the Jerusalem tradition. In any case the New Testament was an abiding witness to the glories of the church of Jerusalem.

While it is well known that both of Cyril's immediate predecessors had attempted, one successfully and one unsuccessfully, to appoint their successors without reference to Caesarea, the evidence of the *Church History* of Eusebius suggests that these events were not simply the result of the theological quarrel between the two churches at this time but reflected a long-standing claim on the part of Jerusalem. Eusebius' pages show Jerusalem behaving, especially in the matter of episcopal elections, in a high-handed way, flouting the customs by which other churches were bound and breaking more or less widely acknowledged rules. Eusebius also gives the impression that Caesarea and Jerusalem were a pair of approximately equally distinguished churches in Palestine.

The story of bishop Narcissus,¹¹ though he is no doubt largely a legendary figure, is suggestive. Said to have been 116 years of age in 216, he may have become bishop before the middle of the second century. His holiness made him enemies and he disappeared into the desert. "The neighboring (*homoroi*)¹² churches" ordained Dios in his place. Dios was

¹¹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* 5.12; 6.9-11.

¹² If *homoros* ("marching with," "having common boundaries") is used strictly, it would refer not to Caesarea but to suburban parish churches and the dioceses in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. Similarly

succeeded by Germanio, who was succeeded by Gordius, during whose episcopate Narcissus reappeared and was immediately besought by "the brethren" to accept the episcopate. Unless Gordius died, he presumably either retired into the ranks of the presbyters, like Cyril's rival Heraclius later, or acted as auxiliary. For a see to have two bishops was a grave violation of Church law, and for a bishop to have an auxiliary was probably felt to savor also of ambition and aggrandizement. Narcissus may even have had two auxiliaries for a time, for Eusebius' account represents Alexander's arrival and election by acclamation (*ca.* 212) as occurring immediately afterwards. Alexander certainly, according to Eusebius' account, acted as Narcissus' coadjutor,¹³ and his election also broke the rule against translations. Eusebius says that in ordaining Alexander, Jerusalem acted "with the unanimous consent of the neighbouring (*perix*) churches." Which are "the neighbouring churches"?¹⁴ Perhaps Narcissus did consult Caesarea, the comprovincial bishops, and Antioch, beforehand; but could *they* have dispensed with canon law?

when (7.28), listing the illustrious bishops *ca.* 266, Eusebius uses the word again, speaking of "Hymenaeus of the church of Jerusalem and Theotecnus of the neighboring church of Caesarea," he is using the word accurately only if the reference is to two metropolitans whose provinces march together. Of course, in the former instance the word could precisely refer to Caesarea *if* the reference were to provinces.

¹³ Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* 6.11.

¹⁴ For *perix* cf. Acts 5.16. Eusebius seems not to use the word *eparchia* (province) much. Perhaps it is an anachronism to read back the Nicene organization into pre-Nicene times, when law and custom were hardly distinguished. The organization by provinces originated as a *de facto* inevitable arrangement, gradually crystallized and became formally recognized. Then Jerusalem, the one church whose position was not based on its cathedral city being a capital, was left high and dry, as the Nicene canon mentioned but did not specify its traditional rights—indeed referred only to "honor" (*timē*). I believe that the seventh canon was a blow to Jerusalem. Macarius may have asked for a special canon—he would have been forced to after canon 4—but the effective part of the canon is clearly the final saving clause. For it is likely that the traditional privileges of Jerusalem *had* meant that Caesarea had not enjoyed (at least full) metropolitan rights in her regard, and consequently Jerusalem's traditional privileges were annulled by the clause which "saved" Caesarea's metropolitan authority in her regard.

Eusebius' account of the Origen episode would lead one to suppose that Jerusalem and Caesarea enjoyed equal eminence and authority. In concert their two bishops acted with marked independence of ecclesiastical rules. When in 216 Origen came to Palestine and stayed in Caesarea, "the bishops of the country" invited him to preach, although Origen's own bishop, Demetrius of Alexandria, thought this highly irregular as Origen was not a presbyter. When Demetrius protested, "Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Caesarea" (the second time we have seen Eusebius name the sees in that order) wrote defending their action. When in 229 or 230 Origen again arrived in Palestine, "the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem, the most eminent in Palestine" ordained him in Caesarea, where he continued to reside for the rest of his life. "Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Caesarea used to hang on his lips" and Firmilianus came from Cappadocia and "visited him in Judaea [*sic*]." ¹⁵ In one of his periodical lists of illustrious bishops Eusebius ¹⁶ mentions Theophilus of Caesarea immediately before Narcissus; the churches listed are Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Caesarea, Jerusalem, Corinth and Ephesus, all apostolic sees and all except Jerusalem capital cities.

Bright, who assumed that Jerusalem enjoyed "precedency among the suffragan churches," wrote that "Caesarea was the undoubted metropolis of Palestine: and its bishop Theophilus had, in the latter part of the second century, presided over a synod of Palestinian bishops" (Euseb. 5.23). ¹⁷ But, in fact, what Eusebius says at 5.23 is that Theophilus of Caesarea and Narcissus of Jerusalem presided. In the Paul of Samosata episode (264-268/9) at Antioch, Jerusalem scores heavily: Eusebius names Hymenaeus before Theotecnus; and in the encyclical letter issued by the final synod, Hymenaeus' name

¹⁵ Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* 6.8.1-5; 6.19.16-19; 6.23.4; 6.27; Jerome, *De vir. illus.* 54.

¹⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* 5.22.

¹⁷ W. Bright, *Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils* (Oxford 1882) 22. The date of the synod was *ca.* 196.

stands second, immediately after Helenus of Tarsus, who was apparently president after the death of Firmilianus.¹⁸ Vailhé,¹⁹ however, wrote: "dans ce synode régional les préséances paraissent établies, non d'après la prééminence du siège, mais d'après la date d'ordination." Possibly the position had changed, to Jerusalem's disadvantage, by 300. Caesarea, but not Jerusalem, is listed among the sees represented at the councils of Ancyra (*ca.* 314) and Caesarea in Cappadocia (*ca.* 318); neither council, however, was restricted to metropolitans.²⁰ In any case, there seems to be no reason to believe that at least up to 270 Jerusalem was, at least in practice, subject to Caesarea.

Arius was hospitably received by Eusebius. Since his denunciation of Macarius, apparently written from Caesarea, belongs to the year 324, it is likely that Macarius took a leading part in the council of Antioch (early 325) which condemned Eusebius. Moreover, Hort may be right in his view that Macarius took a prominent part in the defeat of Eusebius at Nicaea.²¹ Certainly from 324 until the death of Maximus in 348/9 relations between Jerusalem and Caesarea must have been extremely tense—indeed not far from a state of ecclesiastical war. The situation was aggravated by the fact that for eighty-five years from *ca.* 330 the patriarchal church of Antioch was paralyzed by schism and could do little or nothing to make peace.

Describing the succession of Cyril's predecessor, Maximus, to Macarius early in 335, Sozomen writes:²²

The story is that Maximus had earlier been ordained by Macarius to the see of Diospolis [=Lydda], but that the

18 Eusebius, *Hist. eccles.* 7.28; 7.30.2,5.

19 *Loc. cit.* Vailhé produces no evidence for this assertion.

20 There seems to be some doubt whether the lists for these two councils are complete. The see of Jerusalem may have been vacant at the time of Ancyra.

21 Hort 59 n. 2; cf. Theodoret. *Hist. eccles.* 1.18; cf. 2.4; Sozomen, *Hist. eccles.* 1.13.2; 2.20.

22 Sozomen 2.20; "the people" may have included the local clergy (presbyterate).

people of Jerusalem insisted on keeping him. For . . . he was already the people's tacit choice as Macarius' successor.

Claiming special knowledge of the facts, Sozomen (a Palestinian writing in Constantinople about 446) states that Macarius privately agreed with his people, judging Maximus a suitable successor on account of his sound Trinitarian doctrine, especially as he feared that otherwise Eusebius and Patrophilus of Scythopolis would on his death place an Arian in the see: "for even during Macarius' lifetime they had attempted a coup." So Maximus was retained by Macarius as his co-adjutor and succeeded him. But what is so remarkable is that Macarius should, without consulting Caesarea, have ordained a bishop for a see twenty-five miles to the northwest of Jerusalem;²³ and this after Nicaea! The increasing prestige of Jerusalem after the rediscovery of the holy places in 326 may have affected Macarius' bold policy, yet the episode is in striking accord with the picture of Jerusalem's position as we have tentatively reconstructed it for the years 185-270. For Sozomen writes as if Jerusalem had the right to appoint to certain neighbouring sees and as if election to its own see were simply by "the Chapter."

There is no reason to believe that before 323 or 324 relations between Caesarea and Jerusalem had been anything but friendly. The quarrel was caused by the different attitudes of Eusebius and Macarius to the Nicene definition, and was probably exacerbated by the seventh canon of Nicaea. Soon after, when Eusebius was succeeded by his admirer, Acacius, in 340, the situation deteriorated still further. For when a great East-West council met at Serdica (Sofia) in 342, the Eastern bishops found St. Athanasius, whom they had deposed for canonical reasons, sitting with the Western bishops. They demanded that he withdraw and, when he refused, left the

²³ Perhaps what really happened was that Eusebius defeated Macarius' attempt to place his nominee in the see of Diospolis, but failed to prevent Maximus's succession in Jerusalem.

assembly, and, holding a council separately, deposed Pope Julius and other Nicaean leaders. A very few of the Eastern bishops—Maximus among them—stayed at Serdica with the Western bishops, and this council deposed a number of the Eastern leaders, including Acacius.²⁴ Thus Maximus deposed his own metropolitan. It must be assumed that Acacius promptly retaliated.

4. Life of Cyril

Only within this context can the life of Cyril be understood. Cyril firmly believed in the true divinity of Christ, but he disliked the Athanasian theology. In 346 Cyril's predecessor, Maximus, reaffirmed his support of Athanasius by convening a small council of fifteen Palestinian bishops¹ who received Athanasius into communion and sped him on his way to Alexandria. Some time before his death in 348/9 Maximus, like his predecessor Macarius, appointed and consecrated his successor, one Heraclius, to prevent Acacius of Caesarea securing the appointment of an anti-Athanasian. The well informed St. Jerome, describing Cyril's election,² says that on the death of Maximus "the church of Jerusalem was invaded by Arians, first by Cyril" According to Jerome, Acacius and his allies in the province made it a condition, in giving the see to Cyril, that he renounce his priestly ordination by Maximus and submit to reordination. This is probably true, as by Eastern canon law Acacius' deposition of Maximus would have been valid and Maximus' subsequent ordinations invalid. Socrates and Sozomen say that Acacius and Patrophilus expelled Maximus and replaced him by Cyril.³ This

²⁴ Sozomen 3.11-13; Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arian* 50 *fin.*

¹ Probably a few of them were from Syria outside Palestine; Socrates 2.24.1-2.

² *Chronicle*, at the 11th year of the Sons of Constantine (PL 27.501-2). In the terminology of Jerome, Epiphanius and (usually) Athanasius, all non-Homoousians are Arians.

³ Socrates 2.38.2; Sozomen 4.20.1.

is unlikely. Up to 350 Constantius was held in check by the powerful Western emperor, Constans; it was only after Constans' assassination early in 350, indeed only after the defeat of Magnentius in late 351, that a strong anti-Athanasian policy became possible. E. Bihain has shown that Socrates 2.38.2 belongs between 2.27.7 and 2.28.1; we may probably infer that its strictly orthodox and bitterly "anti-Macedonian" source represented Cyril's installation in Jerusalem as part of the general anti-Nicene *revanche* of 351, which included the replacement of Paul by Macedonius in the see of Constantinople.⁴ Consequently, Heraclius may have ruled the see of Jerusalem for a short time after the death of Maximus. Jerome's text suggests that on Cyril's accession Heraclius was persuaded reluctantly to retire into the ranks of the presbyters. This episode implies no unorthodoxy in Cyril; but (unlike his two immediate predecessors), a product of the Eastern theological tradition, Cyril was in decided sympathy with the determination of the Eastern Church to affirm the divinity of Christ in the terminology of its traditional formulas.

Not later than 355 Cyril quarrelled with his metropolitan Acacius:⁵

After being entrusted with the bishopric of Jerusalem, Cyril quarrelled with Acacius of Caesarea concerning metropolitan rights, on the ground that he ruled an apostolic see. From that they proceeded to personal feuding, imputing to each other unsound doctrine. For even previously both had been suspect, surmise attributing Arian views to Acacius and to Cyril sympathy with the "homooousion." In this mood Acacius, acting with the bishops of the province who shared his views, got his blow in first and deposed him.

Socrates⁶ does not know the charges against Cyril.

⁴ This, probably coincidental, association of Cyril with Macedonius at the beginning of his public life may explain why so often in the Socrates-Sozomen tradition he is later classified as a "Macedonian."

⁵ Sozomen 4.25.2. The emendation *homoiousion* for *homooousion* has been suggested.

⁶ Socrates 2.40.

Doctrinal differences, if relevant at all, were secondary. The issue was certainly the jurisdiction or privileges of Jerusalem. Sozomen apparently meant that Cyril claimed the metropolitanate of Palestine for Jerusalem. This, like the reference to the apostolicity of the see of Jerusalem, is clearly an anachronism. But a legal dispute was inevitable owing to the self-contradictory 7th canon of Nicaea, which at once guaranteed full metropolitan rights to Caesarea, and to Jerusalem ancient rights which (I suppose) had in ante-Nicene times qualified Caesarea's metropolitan rights in regard to Jerusalem. Since Theodoret⁷ also describes the quarrel as a struggle "for the primacy" and Socrates reports that for two years Cyril refused to appear to stand his trial, it is fairly certain that, while a claim by Jerusalem to be the metropolitan of Palestine was at this time out of the question, the issue was some alleged infringement by Caesarea of Jerusalem's traditional rights or a revival by Cyril of an ancient claim by Jerusalem to be virtually a second metropolitan see in the south of Palestine. Since a metropolitan court could do nothing worse to Cyril than depose him, his refusal to attend it is most naturally interpreted as based on a denial of the competency of the court, apparently a Palestinian court convened at Caesarea. Cyril's appeal to a higher jurisdiction fits into the same picture; and the Emperor's sanctioning of the appeal is interesting.

While his appeal was pending, Cyril requested the Emperor to have his case tried by a higher court, i.e., by a more broadly representative council. Constantius assented. Meanwhile (357) Cyril found a friendly welcome with Silvanus of Tarsus. There were canons forbidding the reception into communion of a deposed bishop and Acacius took advantage of them to protest, but Silvanus neatly riposted with the remark that Cyril's preaching had made him such a favorite with the people that expulsion or suspension was impossible.

⁷ Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.* 2.26.

Towards Seleucia

In the fifties the Emperor used Sirmium, a fortress town and imperial residence in the Balkans, as a meeting-place for his theological advisers from East and West. The arianizing Eudoxius was now bishop of Antioch and the irreverent dialectician Aëtius had risen to notoriety. The year 357 saw the promulgation of the disquieting ambiguous Second Formula of Sirmium.⁸ Banning discussions of "substance" and the formulas "homouousion" and "homoiousion," this creed confessed "one God, the Father Almighty . . . not two Gods"; the Son is "God of God, Light of Light," subordinate to the Father from whom He was begotten before the ages. "Likeness" was not formally asserted. The document, whose tone was agnostic rather than apophatic, raised the question whether it regarded the Son as God in a merely titular sense. The East took fright. Basil of Ancyra summoned a council (358) and, aided by George of Laodicea, campaigned successfully for the formula "homoiousion, of like substance," really probably "of the same generic substance or nature."⁹ Basil converted the Emperor Constantius and Macedonius of Constantinople to this formula. Flushed with success, Basil banished over seventy "Arian" bishops, including Eudoxius. Constantius and the Homoeousians then decided to hold a general council to achieve unity in orthodoxy. East and West were to meet at Seleucia and Rimini respectively, and a theological commission from each council was then to repair to Constantinople, where it would be determined how far the decisions reached agreed with Scripture. But a reaction against Basil and his formula set in. The formula finally drawn up at Sirmium (the Fourth¹⁰ [Third] of Sirmium, the "Dated Creed," 22 May 359) as a norm or basis for the conciliar dis-

⁸ Text in Hilary, *De synodis* 11; Athanasius, *De synodis* 28. Cf. Denzinger, nn. 138-39.

⁹ Text of Basil's encyclical conciliar letter in Epiphanius, *Haer.* 73.2-11; dogmatic epistle of Basil and George, *ibid.* 12-22.

¹⁰ Fourth, if one counts the unoriginal formula (Sirmium 358) as the Third.

cussions asserted not "like in substance" but "like in all things." At the critical moment Basil had been to some extent displaced in the Emperor's confidence by a group (including Acacius?) which stood somewhat to his left and disliked any formulas embodying *ousia*.

The Letter of Basil and George (allies of Cyril's friend, Silvanus) preserved by Epiphanius seems to show the Homoeousian leaders planning a line of argument in this situation. The relationship of Father and Son, it says, is better expressed by the terms Father and Son, which imply essential likeness (identity of specific or generic nature), than by "Unbegotten" (or "Unoriginate") and "Begotten," which imply some sort of unlikeness and contrast. Moreover "Unbegotten" is, like *ousia*, unscriptural. No doubt some or many (though their numbers are perhaps usually exaggerated) of the moderate party thought that Basil had made a fatal mistake in accepting the compromise "in all points." This Letter points out that "like in all points," i.e., "complete likeness," includes likeness in substance. The formula has now, Basil says, been accepted by all parties and approved by the Emperor; so it is the other side that has been outwitted.

The council of Seleucia (27-30 September 359) is unfortunately as obscure as it is interesting and important.¹¹ Cyril came to Seleucia under the wing of Silvanus and mingled with the Homoeousian leaders. Many of the leading bishops were deposed or had charges lying against them, and the council was intended to settle these questions also. The council could not agree and soon split into two parties. According to Philostorgius the Basilians, meeting separately, ratified the "homoiousion." This is improbable. According to Socrates and Sozomen, although there was a sharp debate about the "homoiousion," the Basilians adopted the Dedication Creed of Antioch (341). This account appears to be cer-

¹¹ Socrates 2.39-40, Sozomen 4.22-23; Philostorgius, *Hist. eccles.* 4.11, Epiphanius, *Haer.* 73.23, 27; Athanasius, *De syn.* 29, Hilary (who claims to have attended the council), *Liber ad Constantium Augustum*, Theodoret 2.26.2-27.2.

tified by the preamble of the extant *ekthesis* of the Acacians. The Antioch formula was a good orthodox creed which had been accepted by Pope Liberius along with the First Sirmium.¹² The Acacian creed (*Syn.* 29) declared full agreement with the Antioch creed and anathematized the *anomoion* ("unlike"), but, rejecting *homoousios* and *homoiousios* as unscriptural terminology and affirming "God of God" with a weak "like" formula, it resembled the Niké formula, i.e., the weakened 4th (3rd) Sirmium finally accepted by Rimini. The omission of *kata panta* (Cyril's formula) was very regrettable.

The discussion included a debate of "likeness in substance," maintained by the Basilians, as against "like in will and action." The Basilians claimed that Acacius had previously committed himself in writing to "likeness in all respects" and (Sozomen) "likeness in essence." Sozomen's statement perhaps means that the Basilians argued that universal likeness included likeness of nature or substance. But the occasion referred to may be a written *votum* submitted by Acacius to Macedonius or Constantius in the course of the deliberations of the theological experts at Sirmium (358-359) in the period when the Basilians were in the ascendant.

Sozomen reports Eleusius, a moderate, as saying: "Any deal that Basil or Mark may have made on their own, or the mutual accusations made by them and the Acacians, are no affair of the Council. Neither need the Council concern itself with the question whether their credal formula is, or is not, a good one"; then he urged the reaffirmation of the Antioch creed.¹³ The interpretation of this remark depends to some extent on the sequence of events, which is uncertain. Perhaps Acacius had accused the moderates of betraying him

¹² Liberius' four letters in Hilary's *Fragmenta*; Denzinger, nn. 138, 141-143 (all new to the 32nd ed.); Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.* 41; Sozomen 4.15. Pressure had been brought to bear on Liberius, but he insists that he acted freely and in the interests of peace and unity. He seems genuinely to have come to see the Eastern point of view and to have recognized the legitimacy of their *Problematik* and terminology.

¹³ Sozomen 4.22.22; cf. 4.27.1 and Socrates 2.45 *init.* But see also Athanasius, *De syn.* 37-38.

by not accepting the Sirmium formula and Basil and Mark had countered that he had betrayed them by weakening that formula. But some of the moderates may have thought that to proclaim the "homoiousion" just when the West seemed ready to abandon logical and metaphysical mysteries in favor of the acknowledgment of the mystery of the divine Being itself, was to surrender everything they had fought for when they were in sight of victory. Alternatively it is possible that the majority were deterred from affirming the "homoiousion" by Sirmium's ban on *ousia*; in general, however, the Seleucian majority showed little respect for the imperial will. Moreover, bishops unable to be present themselves, and perhaps including some of the left-wing bishops banished by Basil, were allowed to vote by proxy at the council.

Theodoret represents the council as breaking down over the question of Cyril. When Acacius, he says, found Cyril among the assembled bishops, he demanded that, as being deposed, he withdraw, but, though his demand won some support, Cyril refused, and then Acacius left the assembly and joined the Eudoxians. This, however, is incredible. Such intransigence would have been suicide on Cyril's part, and the greater folly as he appears to have had the sympathy of the majority. Theodoret has been carried away by his liking for the dramatic and the personal. His reference, a little earlier, to Cyril as "a zealous champion of the apostolic decrees" (i.e., apparently of Nicaea) shows that he is thinking of the later Cyril of the Establishment and comparing his presence at Seleucia to the presence of Athanasius at Sardica, where the tactical situation was different. The presence of a number of deposed and accused prelates was clearly a cause of complaint at Seleucia, but there is no reason to doubt the statements of Socrates and Sozomen¹⁴ that the complaint chiefly concerned the late arrivals, Macedonius and Basil, and that all the bishops challenged by Acacius withdrew.¹⁵ Moreover Acacius

¹⁴ Socrates 2.40 *ad init.*, Sozomen 4.22.10-11.

¹⁵ See also Sozomen 4.22.25.

seems to have been in partial sympathy with the Eudoxians since 357.

Probably the difference between the Antioch creed and the Acacian formula, though superficially not very great, was critical. It was apparently Acacius' mission to win the council's assent to the same weakened Sirmium formula which was to be forced upon the West. For this purpose the Antioch formula would not quite serve. But the major episcopal trials pending were also an important issue (not unconnected with the doctrinal issue), and Acacius seems to have found himself facing a strong *bloc*, a *bloc*, moreover, that was planning to replace Eudoxius by Anianus at Antioch. Within this political pattern of personal and "cathedral" rivalries the question of Cyril was not unimportant—especially to the metropolitan of Palestine. Epiphanius, who in 359 was still living in his monastery near Eleutheropolis, states that Eutychius of Eleutheropolis, though a Nicæan, cast in his lot with the Acacians out of enmity for Cyril.¹⁶ As Eleutheropolis lies to the southwest of Jerusalem, Cyril may have been interfering in Eutychius' diocese on the ground that it formed part of his "province" or sphere of influence.

Continuing to meet on their own after Leonas and the Acacians had signified their intention of boycotting the council, the majority deposed, among others, George, Eudoxius and Acacius—the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch and Caesarea!—and presumably acquitted and reinstated Cyril, and ordained Anianus bishop of Antioch. The Acacians and ten deputies representing the Seleucia majority repaired to Constantinople, where they met the ten deputies from Rimini and a number of other bishops who happened to be in the capital on business. The ten Seleucian deputies finally accepted the revised Rimini creed. Sozomen¹⁷ reports that they abandoned the term "substance" only when the Acacians assured them on oath that the dropping of the term by no

¹⁶ Epiphanius, *Haer.* 73.23, deleting the negative with Petau.

¹⁷ Sozomen 4.23.5.

means implied the view that the Son was unlike the Father in substance, a doctrine which they were ready formally to condemn. We may perhaps accept the sincerity of the Acacians in this matter and the truth of Philostorgius' statement¹⁸ that when (early 360) Acacius deposed both the (arianizing) Aëtians and the Basilian leaders, he deposed the former for their heterodoxy and the later because of his vendetta with them.

Among those deposed by this Acacian council and banished by the Emperor in 360 were Macedonius, Eustathius, Basil, Silvanus, Sophronius, Eleusius, Anianus, Neonas of Seleucia and Cyril.¹⁹

A.D. 360-387

Thereafter Cyril seems to have shared the fate of the Eastern "conservative" bishops. Recalled (January 363) under Julian, repossessed of his see under the orthodox Jovian (d. Feb. 364), he was banished by the Homoean Valens in late 366 or 367 and returned finally to his see when Gratian (autumn 378) recalled the bishops exiled by Valens.²⁰

Cyril's activities and views during this long period are obscure. He was powerful enough to secure the appointment of his nephew Gelasius to the see of Caesarea on the death of

18 Philostorgius 4.1, 12; 5.1; 6.4. But if Socrates 2.45 and Sozomen 4.29 are accurate, I am probably wrong. Whereas Athanasius (*De syn.* 31) judged Acacius a secret Arian, Philostorgius (who characterizes him as a liar and a master of Machiavellian arts) thought him a hypocritical Arian who double-crossed the Eudoxians by appointing "Homoeousian" bishops in 360. Philostorgius does not formally contradict Athanasius' statement that Acacius appointed Arian bishops, since in Athanasius' vocabulary "Arian" means anyone who does not accept the "homoeousion," while in Philostorgius' vocabulary "Homoeousian" means anyone who believes that Christ is God and not a creature. The only reliable evidence for anyone's belief in this period is the creeds he signed. The allegations of Acacius' Aëtianism in Antioch in 361 may arise from a popular misunderstanding of the favorite Homoean theme that there are not "two Unbegottens." It is rather surprising that both Constantius (who was in Antioch) and Acacius should so suddenly change from persecutors to adherents of Aëtianism.

19 Sozomen 4.25.1-5; Theodoret 2.27.2.

20 Socrates 4.35; Sozomen, 4.30.3.

Acacius in 366. Though soon ousted, Gelasius later regained the see and still held it at the time of the first council of Constantinople (381).

When did Cyril accept the "homoeousion"? Hort's view that he accepted it in the years 362-364 rests largely on his assumption that Cyril was an ally of St. Meletius of Antioch, whose name headed the signatures to the Nicene confession sent to Jovian by the bishops assembled at Antioch in 363.²¹ Tillemont had linked this event with Theodoret's story²² of how between June 362 and March 363²³ Cyril received from Meletius at Antioch and smuggled over to Palestine the convert son of a pagan priest attached to the court of the apostate Julian. It seems certain, however, that Cyril did not sign the memorial to Jovian, since Socrates, drawing on Sabinus, apparently gives the complete list of signatories, and Cyril is not among them.²⁴ Moreover, there is far more evidence for a friendship between Meletius and Acacius than between Meletius and Cyril. Meletius voted with the Acacians at Seleucia,²⁵ and Epiphanius seems to say that his action was motivated by enmity towards Cyril. In 361 Acacius secured Meletius' nomination to the see of Antioch. Acacius was a cosignatory with Meletius to the memorial to Jovian in 363.

If Cyril during this period was an active member of any group, there is a stronger case for the conjecture that he was one of the homoeousian "Macedonians" who, anticipating the Meletians and led by Basil and Silvanus, petitioned Jovian in 363 and were rebuffed.²⁶ It seems to have been approximately the same group which, led by Silvanus and Eustathius, in the autumn of 365 or spring of 366 sent a deputation to the Western Emperor Valentinian, Pope Liberius and the Western bishops, accepted the Nicene creed and were re-

21 Hort, *Two Dissertations* 97-107, esp. 95-97; 106 n. 5.

22 Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.* 3.10.

23 Dates established by Clinton.

24 Socrates 3.25 (cf. 27, 28). This council at Antioch seems to have been in the late summer or autumn of 363.

25 Epiphanius, *Haer.* 73.23; Socrates 2.44.

26 Socrates 3.25 *init.*; Sozomen 6.4 *init.*

ceived into communion by Liberius.²⁷ The second name on the list of the addressees of Liberius' letter is "Cyril." But it is a common name, and Socrates and Sozomen, though they describe the "Macedonians" as led by those bishops of the Seleucia majority deposed by Acacius in 360, never actually mention Cyril among them. Sometimes, without characterizing his position, they seem to distinguish him from them. Again, if Socrates and Sozomen are at all correct in ascribing to the "Macedonians" heretical views about the Holy Spirit, Cyril (unless the *Catecheses* are more heavily stratified or interpolated than the evidence presently available suggests) cannot have belonged to their group.²⁸ In the years following 360 he may have played a lone hand. It is noticeable that Socrates, in describing the position on the accession of Valens, mentions Cyril without characterizing his doctrinal position.²⁹ If the "Niceno-Constantinopolitan" creed is a revision and expansion of the Jerusalem creed, and if the former's appearance in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius³⁰ is authentic, then Cyril must have accepted the "consubstantial" by 374.³¹ Yet in this case it is surprising that neither Socrates nor Sozomen mentions Cyril's conversion to formal, as distinct from substantive, Nicene orthodoxy, for the overt gesture of the acceptance or the rejection of the "homoeousion" is just the sort of thing

27 Socrates 4.12; Sozomen 6.10-11. In their letter to Liberius this group glossed the "homoeousion" as meaning "Very God" and "like to the Father in all things," both characteristic Cyrillic phrases. For the later theological history of this group, see Socrates 4.12 *fin.*, 5.4; Sozomen 7.2.2-4.

28 That is, after they fell into heresy, in 361. Sozomen 4.25.1 (cf. 24.9, 16) suggests that Cyril's original trouble with Acacius stemmed from his association with the Homoeousian Seleucians including the eccentric ascetic Eustathius, whom in 358 a council at Melitene deposed in favor of Miletius. Was the group already the champions of the "homoeousion" before its banning by Second Sirmium in 357? The charge against Cyril in 360 was that he had held communion with Eustathius and Elpidius after their deposition (unless there were two councils of Melitene) and with Basil and George after his own deposition.

29 Socrates 4.1. *ad fin.*

30 *Ancoratus* 118.

31 And, if so, probably by 366.

they understand and are competent to record. In fact, however, both Socrates and Sozomen represent Cyril at Constantinople in 381 as a recent convert to the "homooousion,"³² which suggests that Cyril accepted it only when Theodosius I became the Eastern Augustus (January 379) and made its subscription mandatory. The group which (above) accepted the "homooousion" in 365-6 soon recanted.

Cyril's substantive orthodoxy, of course, is attested from the first by the *Catecheses*. If we measure orthodoxy by the confession of the true divinity of Christ and not by acceptance of a philosophical term, Cyril never wavered in orthodoxy. The story of his life shows him steadfastly refusing all complicity with heresy and bears out the encomium of the Second Ecumenical Council, which in its synodal letter³³ of 382 to Pope Damasus and the West declared that Cyril had "on various occasions valiantly combated Arianism." In that first council of Constantinople (381 A.D.) Cyril probably played a leading part. Socrates names him second and Sozomen third among the leading prelates. It is probably an index not only of Cyril's personal prestige but also of the authority of his see that both Socrates and Sozomen³⁴ name him among the four leading prelates of the orthodox majority, the others being Timothy of Alexandria, Meletius of Antioch and Gregory of Nazianzus, whom Theodosius had transferred to the see of Constantinople, 27 November 380.

Cyril's influence was probably great at the later sessions of the council when Meletius had died, Gregory had left, Timothy had been discredited by his support of the claims of the adventurer Maximus to the see of Constantinople, Constantinople itself was represented by Nectarius who had been only a catechumen when the council opened, and Cyril's nephew Gelasius presided over the church of Caesarea. While Cyril was no doubt suspect in Western eyes (St. Jerome was

³² Socrates 5.8 *ad init.*; Sozomen 7.7.3.

³³ Text in Theodoret 5.9.

³⁴ Socrates 5.8; Sozomen 7.7.3.

still calling him an Arian in his *Chronicle*, ca. 380), it is very improbable, especially after his acceptance of the "homooousion," that (as Hort suggested) he needed to vindicate his orthodoxy at the Eastern council of Constantinople by producing the traditional creed of Jerusalem.³⁵ But, while the minutes of the council have for the most part perished, it is not unlikely that the Eastern bishops perceived the tactical usefulness of the unimpeachable creed of "the Mother of all the Churches" as a symbol of the orthodoxy of their non-homooousian past. The council may well, therefore, have commissioned Cyril to expand his creed into a form which should, taking into account present needs, represent the faith of the East. E. Schwarz suggested that the *tomos* mentioned in the council's reply to the West (382) referred to the "Constantinopolitan" creed (C); and it is significant that that reply implies that Cyril's theological respectability had been impugned by the West. While, then, it is not even certain that the "Niceno-Constantinopolitan" creed (i.e., the present liturgical creed of East and West, commonly miscalled the "Nicene" creed) was either composed or adopted by the council of Constantinople, the internal evidence for this great creed's being based on the Jerusalem creed (J) and possibly being the work of a committee chaired by St. Cyril at Constantinople, is briefly as follows. The first thirty-six (Greek) words of the two creeds are identical,³⁶ except that the phrase "true God" is held over in C; only ten words of J are not included in C, and of these three are accounted for by merely prepositional changes; while the amount of detail, or degree of expansion, in the key third clause of J is uncertain, all the phrases of C's very full third clause coincide with the phrases emphasized and "demonstrated" in *Catechesis* 12. In his main contention, therefore, Hort may well have been right.

³⁵ And still more improbable if he had accepted the "homooousion" in 362-364; these two parts of Hort's hypothesis are mutually contradictory.

³⁶ I.e., down to "before all ages" inclusive. The next thirty (Greek) words come from N.

Of the twelve clauses of the creed, all but the third and fourth are quoted verbatim in the *Catecheses* and can be reconstructed with considerable confidence from the following passages: 7.4, 9.4, 11.21, 14.24, 15.2, 17.3, 18.22.

Cyril died in 387.³⁷ Commemorated among the blessed in the Eastern Church since the fifth century,³⁸ Cyril was proclaimed a Doctor of the universal Church by Pope Leo XIII. His feast is kept on March 18th.

5. Cyril's Theology

Cyril's theology was highly apophatic. Pseudo-Denis the Areopagite spoke of an apophatic ("negative") theology as a way to the knowledge of God through negations. But by characterizing Cyril's theology as apophatic, I refer to his insistence that we can know of God only what has been revealed.¹ This position, implicit in the conception of a divine transcendent revelation, Cyril held in common with all the Fathers and classical theologians, and it was strongly reaffirmed by the First Vatican Council. It was probably this principle that caused Cyril to refuse for so long to accept the "consubstantial" as defined by the Council of Nicaea; it is likely that he held out until it was recognized that the "consubstantial" (*homoousion*) need not be interpreted as affirming anything more than is taught in Scripture. Not that in principle Cyril barred theological speculation, but he thought that its conclusions could not have the same certainty or authority as belonged to scriptural truth. In particular he emphasized (what, of course, all theologians assert) that the

³⁷ P. Nautin, "La date du *De viris illustribus*," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 56 (1961) 33-35; Jerome, *De vir. illus.* 112.

³⁸ See the calendar in *Rituale Armenorum*, edited by Conybeare and Maclean.

¹ Cyril thought of the revelation in a "propositional" way, i.e., as the imparting of mysterious truths. Nevertheless he also understood it as God's self-disclosure in history; he had some grasp of revelation as "salvation history" (*Heilsgeschichte*).

divine nature and "the mysteries of Father, Son and Holy Spirit" (i.e., the Creed) are profoundly mysterious and beyond man's comprehension. It is quite characteristic of Cyril to say (6.2): "For concerning God it is high knowledge to confess our want of knowledge." Significantly he continues: "Therefore glorify the Lord with me" Cyril thought that the purpose of the revelation was to guide aright our worship, devotion and conduct and that immoderate curiosity was doomed to remain unsatisfied and tended to produce strife in the Church. Such an apophatic theology tends to pile up negatives;² we can deny of God anything that implies imperfection, but of the nature of God's inmost being we cannot have exact positive knowledge. The reader will find illustrations of this apophatic approach at 4.17; 5.12; 6.2, 6.4-8; 7.5; 9.1-3; 11.9-12; 16.5.

In trinitarian theology Cyril belonged to the right wing of the Eusebian or Eastern school. This school, though its origins are obscure, seems to have been the product of the meeting of a diluted Origenist tradition with a (not very scientific) biblical theology, stressing the literal meaning and historical side of the scriptural record, as practiced at Antioch. While this school aimed at scientific exegesis, Cyril had rather more sympathy with the spiritual and allegorical senses of Scripture. To risk a generalization: while Latin theology translated into philosophical terms the biblical record of revelation as interpreted by tradition, this Eastern school constructed its theology more directly from the Scriptures. This procedure had its dangers on account of the great development within the New Testament's christology; if the biblical theologian failed to notice this development and the transformation in the New Testament, whether through their deepening, or hellenizing, of certain Old Testament Semitic categories (e.g., "Son of God" or "image"), he might find himself an Arian. But the method also had its advantages. It saved the theologian from what I. A. Richards has called, in

² Cf. *Cat.* 7.5.

relation to poetry, the "stock response," i.e., the interpreting of a poem simply on the basis of one's previous experience instead of being open to what is unique, original and excitingly new in the poem and allowing that to re-create one's ways of thinking and feeling. Eastern theology was more aware of the highly personalist Hebrew categories in the Bible and of the functional and historical, rather than metaphysical, character of the revelation. It read the Bible as a "salvation history," a *story* in which the leading role in the creation and new creation of mankind is played by three very exciting and distinctive Persons. It reacted sharply against any suggestion that the Three were really "substantially one." Nor would it wish to see the story dissolved into philosophy.

Not only Cyril's silence about the "homooousion" shows that he belonged to the Eastern school. Though he was perhaps unaware of the logic underlying his position, he seems to have held the "Eastern" trinitarian theology approximately as described above. Cyril does not interpret John 10.30 as teaching a *numerical* unity of the (concrete) divine essence:

He says, not "I am the Father," but "the Father is in me" . . . He did not say, "I and the Father am one," but "I and the Father are one" . . . "One" they are because of the dignity proper to the Godhead, since God begat God. "One" on account of the unity of their reign, for the Son's subjects are not different from the Father's, as if He were an Absalom in revolt. . . . "One" because of the absence of discord and disagreement, for their wills and purposes are the same. "One" because the handiwork of Christ is not different from that of the Father; rather there is a single production of the universe, the Father having made all things through the Son. "He spake. . .," for He who speaks speaks to one who heeds, and He who issues commands issues them to One who is present with Him.³

Although Cyril recognized a hierarchy in the Blessed Trinity, he recognized also that the three Persons all belong

³ *Cat.* 11.16.

absolutely to the side of the divine and the transcendent; they were partners in creation and redemption, together rule the world and history, and are uniquely the source of being, life and salvation. Their unity was a moral unity, a unity, Cyril explains (11.16), of rule or reign; again, they acted, as it were, as a team under the captaincy of the Father, and the Son's and Spirit's relations of origin to the Father gave the necessary ontic unity. The pattern of rule and action corresponds to the relations of origin. As the Father begets the Son, so He commands and sends Him, while the Son performs the commands of the Father. The being and dignity or status of the Three are known from their names and functions. Christ is God, but God the Son:

The Son, then, is Very God, having the Father in Himself, but not changed into the Father; for the Father was not made man, but the Son. For let the truth be freely spoken: the Father did not suffer for us Himself, but sent Him who suffered. Let us beware *either* of saying that there was a time when the Son did not exist, *or* identifying the Son with the Father. Rather let us walk in the King's highway, turning aside neither to the right nor the left.⁴

We may, perhaps, find an analogy to this "unity of rule" in the system whereby the reigning Emperor admitted his sons to partnership in sovereignty, making them *consortes imperii*. In defining the divine unity, Eastern theology also sometimes toyed with the idea of a sort of "concrete universal,"⁵ rather as Scripture regards mankind as a collective, in a profound sense a single Man, fallen in Adam and restored in Christ, the New Man. Again, the East emphasized that there is but one Unoriginated (*agenētos* or *anarchos*), the Father. This hierarchy and differentiation in the Godhead is found also, of course, in Western theology, but there it is less prominent, being overshadowed by the substantial identity

⁴ Cat. 11.17.

⁵ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Quod non sunt tres dii*. Gregory's final answer, however, is not this.

of the three Persons.⁶ But in Eastern theology the full (generic) divinity of Son and Spirit is safeguarded and expressed by their coördination in the creed, the baptismal formula and the doxology.

Cyril's regular formula is not the "coessential," but "like the Father in all things."⁷ Cyril teaches that the Son is *anarchos* (unoriginated) in the sense of "having no beginning in time." But the Father alone is *anarchos* in the sense of having absolutely no origin. In Cyril, "God" seems to be the proper name of the Father, though of course the Son is God.⁸ The Father is the Unbegotten, the Son the Only-begotten. "The Father is the beginning [origin, principle] of the Son, himself without beginning," i.e., the *archē anarchos*.⁹ A glance at Toutée's *apparatus criticus* shows that *anarchos* has been interpolated in a number of places (e.g., 11.4, 5, 7, 13), presumably to make Cyril teach that the Son is in every sense Unoriginate. Cyril emphasizes that the Son's begetting was ineffable and "before all ages." He seems to have interpreted eternity in the Greek manner as a "timeless now," not as an infinitely long time (time in the sense of "a before and after"); certainly he makes it clear that "before all ages" means timelessly, outside time (*achronōs, aidiōs*).

Origen sometimes said that the Son was begotten of the Father's will.¹⁰ Athanasius seems to have held or implied that the begetting was by an essential necessity; without the Logos, he says, the Father would have been *alogos*. Did the Father beget "by nature" or by deliberation and free choice? The Arians argued that the Father cannot have begotten unknowingly or involuntarily, yet free choice presupposes de-

⁶ Similarly in Western, as in Eastern, theology the Father is principal agent in redemption as well as in creation, performing both through the Son. It is only "by appropriation" that the Son is "the Redeemer." The Father conceived and planned the operation and "sent" (commissioned) the Son, who is the executive, the "commander in the field."

⁷ *Cat.* 4.7; 11.4, 18.

⁸ *Cat.* 4.4, 7, 16 *fin.*; 11.4, 7, 20.

⁹ *Cat.* 11.20.

¹⁰ Origen, *De principiis* 4.4.1.

liberation. Cyril answered that the Father begot neither unknowingly nor after consideration involving an interval; God begot knowingly and (apparently) voluntarily, but eternally;¹¹ and the Son was a natural Son. Correspondingly the Father was a perfectly free agent (*autoproairetōs*) in bestowing the Lordship upon the Son, but the Son was the natural heir to it. Moreover, while the Lordship was "delivered unto Me of my Father," there never was a time when He was not Lord; He ever shares His Father's throne.¹² The whole thing is beautifully balanced. For Cyril's doctrine of the "Monarchy" (the singleness and single rule of God) see *Catecheses* 6.1-11, 7.1 and 16.4. Here are two typical excerpts:¹³

Let the thought of "Father" accompany the thought of "God," that the praise of the Father and the Son be indivisible. For Father and Son have not two different glories, but one and the same. For the Father has an Only-begotten Son who, when the Father is glorified, shares his glory. For the glory of the Son flows from the Father's dignity.

Our hope is in Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Not that we proclaim three Gods . . .; no, we preach one God, with the Holy Spirit and through one Son. The faith is indivisible, the worship inseparable. . .

O. Perler (LTK 6.710) is correct in saying that Cyril is somewhat subordinationist, as the following passages show: 7.5; 10.5, 7, 9f.; 11.10, 12-23; 12.16; 14.27; 15.25, 30. But although Cyril's theology is subordinationist in a pejorative sense by the norms, and within the pattern, of Western theology, need we pass the same judgment when we view it within the different pattern and presuppositions of Eastern theology?

In spite of the (original) Nicene Creed, Cyril never speaks of the Son being generated "from the substance of the Father," but simply "from the Father." He emphasizes strongly

¹¹ *Cat.* 11.4, 7, 8, 20. The formula which has prevailed is "neither by necessity nor by free will, but by nature."

¹² *Cat.* 10.9; *Matt.* 11.27.

¹³ *Cat.* 6.1; 16.4.

that neither men nor angels can know anything of the Father's essence, and that the generation of the Son is particularly mysterious, altogether ineffable: the Son is born as God "himself only knoweth."¹⁴

What is the relation of the Trinitarian theology of the Lectures to that of St. Athanasius and the West? It is notorious that the word "of-one substance" (*homoousios*) does not occur in St. Cyril's writings. But that may not be very significant, since St. Athanasius himself made little use of the word, even in his anti-Arian writings, before the revival of Arianism in 357-8. And in those same earlier writings Athanasius quite often used formulas equivalent to Cyril's "like the Father in all respects." In an article that is very illuminating on the historical side, Msgr. J. Lebon¹⁵ has maintained that, while "politically" Cyril was for many years arrayed with the central Eastern *bloc* that was critical of the Nicene formula, theologically his position was indistinguishable from that of the Athanasian-Western party; while for adventitious reasons (e.g., because of reluctance to introduce a non-scriptural word into the Creed) Cyril eschewed the "homooousion," actually his theology was implicitly that of St. Thomas Aquinas and later Scholasticism, insofar as he distinguished sharply, though not explicitly, between nature and person and even implied the doctrine of the "numerical" identity of the divine nature of the three divine Persons. But little evidence, and no convincing evidence, has been produced for this widely accepted view.

In what direction does the external evidence point? Apart from his silence about the "homooousion," Cyril flatters Constantius II, in his letter to him, more than courtly politeness demanded, saying (Ch. 3) that he surpasses the piety or orthodoxy (*eusebeia*) of Constantine. Again, although the date of Cyril's acceptance of formal Nicene orthodoxy is debatable, both Socrates and Sozomen seem to say pretty clearly that he

¹⁴ *Cat.* II.8, 11.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* (*supra*, Bibliogr.), in *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 20 (1924) 181-210, 357-386.

accepted it only on the eve of the second ecumenical council (only when the Emperor made it mandatory?). The Lectures themselves give some indirect clues to Cyril's position when he says repeatedly (4.8; 11.13, 16, 18; 16.4; 17.34) that orthodoxy stands midway between two heretical extremes. The two extremes are obviously those of the Arian and Sabellian type, but since, as Toutée noted,¹⁶ in 15.9 Cyril describes them as *widespread and disguised*, they cannot have been overt and explicit Arianism and Sabellianism. Presumably, therefore, one extreme was represented by the "Eastern" party or some group in it (Eusebius of Nicomedia? Acacius?), and the other was the Athanasian-Western party or some group in it, presumably Marcellus' since Cyril attacks him strongly in 15.27-30. It is possible, however, that Cyril attacked Marcellus openly only because he could be attacked with safety, but was in fact also somewhat suspicious of the Western school.

Passages like 11.12 can only be directed against the Nicaeans. Cyril's own orthodoxy can hardly be doubted, since he followed Scripture almost verbally and is a Doctor of the Church. The basic requirement for Trinitarian orthodoxy seems to be the recognition that the Son is truly, in the proper and strict sense, God. This requirement refers especially to the Son's divine nature; as a Person, precisely as the Son, it is allowable to say that He is, while truly divine, in some sense subordinate to the Father. The equality of nature means (at least) that the Son has all the same attributes or predicates (omnipotence, eternity, etc.) as the Father, and shares the Father's divine titles and functions as creator and ruler of the universe and source of all saving grace. If, however, a distinction should not be drawn between nature and person, the requirements of orthodoxy may perhaps be safeguarded in a different way.

There are three *prima facie* possible ways in which the three divine Persons may be related to the divine nature. On any orthodox theory They must have "the same" nature; i.e., they

¹⁶ PG 33.43-44.

must be *homoousioi*; they must, in Aristotelian language, have the divine nature in common. But the unity of the divine nature might be specific, numerical, or generic. If the Three had "the same" specific nature, They would have it in common in the same way as three men have "the same" human nature. But this is impossible because (a) since individual instances of a species are distinguished from one another by their matter, no spiritual (immaterial) species can have more than one instance; hence St. Thomas Aquinas taught that every angel constitutes a species of its own;¹⁷ (b) originatedness (begottenness or procession) would on this analysis have to be classified as a merely "accidental" difference, whereas it seems to be more than that; (c) the theory would be, or involve, tritheism.

To say that the divine Persons have *numerically* the same nature is to say that They have in common literally the same identical concrete nature. This is St. Thomas's theory and the theory which Lebon thinks Cyril held implicitly. On this theory a sharp distinction is drawn between person and nature, and the Three, while different ("distinct") as Persons, are yet each identical with the same thing, the one divine essence. The Persons are held to be subsistent relations. St. Thomas's synthesis is brilliant and profound, but it seems to leave us ultimately (as the Orthodox East complain) with one thing instead of three. Moreover it is not easy to see how it does not involve a contradiction in terms. If in defence of the theory it is urged that the Three possess the identical nature in different ways, the First Person as begetting (it?), the Second as begotten, and the Third as proceeding, this seems to make some concession to the specific or generic view.

It is the third, the "*generic* unity or identity," view which

¹⁷ *Sum. theol.* I, 76, 2, ad 1: "multi autem angeli unius speciei omnino esse non possunt." Not that St. Cyril supposed that *angels* are immaterial; in common with the Bible (at least usually) and a learned tradition that continued up to the seventeenth century (e.g., Milton), he held that angels are composed of a fine, subtle, spiritual substance; for the relevant passages, see Index, s. v. "angels."

provides the logical framework that, though never made explicit, seems to be required by all, or almost all, Cyril's Trinitarian expositions. On this view the divine Persons are three, not individual instances of a species (like three men), but three individual subsistent species which are members of the same genus (deity); They have the same *generic* nature. The Trinitarian logic, on this view, will be broadly similar to that governing three Thomistic angels. The relationship of the Persons to the divine nature will follow the same general logic as the relationship of a Cherub, a Seraph and a Domination to the (generic) angelic nature, or (if it may be said with reverence) as the relationship of the three species of triangle, isosceles, scalene and equilateral, to the genus triangle. In the three logics the relationship of the individuals' distinguishing characteristics (*idiotētes*, *gnōrismata*) to the common nature is different. When, as in three men, the common nature is a species, it differs concretely in the three only accidentally. If three beings have numerically the same common nature, clearly it does not differ in the three at all. But the distinguishing characteristics of individual species of one genus may modify the common nature internally; in any case they are likely to be of more than "accidental" importance. A Cherub, a Seraph and a Domination are three different ways of being an angel, and perhaps the same applies to the three types of triangle. On this logic Father, Son and Holy Ghost will be three different ways of being God. While each will be God in the proper and true sense, They will be God in the same generic sense, but not in the same specific sense. This logic does not allow the strong distinction between nature and person which enables one to draw sharp distinctions between the Persons in regard of origin while at the same time stressing the identity of nature. For on this logic the personal distinguishing characteristics (which are related to the question of origin) determine the nature and modify it internally. But the interrelationship of the members of a genus is not uniform; it depends upon the particular case. That is perhaps

why St. Cyril did not make explicit the genus–species model of his thinking. For it is open to abuse, as St. Athanasius pointed out when he remarked that the divine nature could not be paralleled with that of “animal,” with its species of man, lion and wolf, or illustrated by three kinds of metal, for instance, the royal metal, gold, silver and base metal, copper. The advantage, for theology, of the genus–species logic is that it is flexible. It does not, as the choice of the logic of specific or numerical identity of nature does, predetermine the whole pattern; the precise pattern is filled in accordance with the biblical data. Cyril, of course, by refraining from specifying any logic, retained a sovereign freedom to expound the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in entire fidelity to Scripture. But his exposition is compatible with, even seems to require, the genus–species logic; certainly within that framework it can be best understood. This also seems to be the logic of the Cappadocian Trinitarian theology, though even the Cappadocians never spelt it out fully.

A theology implicitly based on something like this genus–species logic will be pluralist in the Eastern way of Origen. It will take seriously the Son’s character as the Son and the mystery of the divine begetting, and it will be, by the standards of modern Scholastic notions, somewhat subordinationist. Cyril’s Trinitarian theology clearly has three characteristics. It is pluralist insofar as Cyril stresses that Son and Spirit are independent substantial beings (4.7, 8; 11.10; 17.5). Msgr. Lebon¹⁸ has singled out 11.16, Cyril’s exposition of John 10.30 (“I and the Father are one”) as a clear illustration that Cyril held implicitly the doctrine of numerical identity. But 11.16 offers four expositions of this text, and none of them approaches the idea of numerical identity. The point does not need discussion. Indeed 11.16 is one of the passages noted by Perler in the LTK as subordinationist. Its subordinationist and pluralistic character come out in the last sentence of the section.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 15 *supra*) 376–381.

Passages (e.g., 11.10-12, esp. 11.11) emphasizing the ineffability of the Son's generation and of the Father's substance (*ousia*) probably provide the explanation of the puzzle why Cyril could not accept the *homoousion*. It is a puzzle because *homoousios* can designate community of generic as well as specific nature. But apparently by 350 it was naturally taken to refer to unity of specific nature or to sameness of concrete substance. Both interpretations would present difficulties for Cyril. The latter might be judged to be implied by N's "begotten from the Father, that is, from the substance of the Father." For Cyril, "God" was the proper name of the Father (even though Christ was properly and strictly God), and the divine substance was identical with the Father. For Cyril, it was this divine substance which was entirely transcendent, incomprehensible and ineffable, known only by the Son and the Spirit, and before which human speculation must be silent (6.5). Moreover, if the divine substance is defined as identical with God the Father, then the Father will beget according to (divine) genus, not according to species; else the Son too would be Unbegotten—a proposition which Cyril denies a score of times.

This ineffable mystery of the divine generation is central in Cyril's theology. The Arians held that the Son was begotten in the same, improper or metaphorical, sense as the creatures. Orthodoxy says that the divine begetting is literal and proper though analogical. Cyril insists that this must be taken seriously; a son owes his existence to his father and (consequently) is bound to obey him. Moreover there is one important difference between human and divine begetting. A human son has exactly and specifically the same nature as his father. For his father too is a son; he is not unbegotten. Cyril discreetly makes this point in the many passages where he insists that the Son is not unbegotten; there is only one Unbegotten, God the Father; see 4.4; 7.10; 11.2, 4.

The nature and pattern of Cyril's theology roughly corresponds to the logic of three angelic species/individuals; the

divine Three have proper names which are also descriptions of the Individuals who own them (7.1; 8.1; 10.1, 2, 5). Thus the name of the first Person is God. He is further described as the Unbegotten or Ingenerate, the Father of the Son, and the Creator. *Cat.* 4.4 provides a good example: "There is but one God; He is unbegotten, unoriginate . . . not begotten of another. . . There is one only God . . . the Father of the Only-begotten Son." Compare 11.13: "neither two Unbegottens nor two Only-begottens . . . ; to be unbegotten is to have no father." The last clause is significant; here, as often elsewhere, Cyril is trying to open our eyes, blinded by custom, to the significance of the New Testament's language. There is only one Unbegotten, Cyril insists; to be Unbegotten is not to have a father. The Only-begotten also is unique, not in having no Father, but in having no brother. Thus Cyril emphasizes the doctrine of the Monarchy, but not in a modalist (Sabellian) but in an anti-modalist sense.

The Second Person is the Only-begotten: the Son, or God the Son, or the Son of God, or the Lord, or "the begotten God"; only the eternal Son became man and suffered; Cyril protests against Patripassionism; 4.4, 7, 8 and *passim*. According to Socrates (1.23) and Sozomen (2.18; cf. 3.18) very soon after 325 many Eastern bishops reached the view that Nicaea's "consubstantial" and "begotten from the substance of the Father" were a blasphemy against the Son and destroyed His *hyparxis*—presumably either by implying His numerical identity with the Father, or by asserting the specific identity of two immaterial Beings, or, more likely, by denying His distinctive characteristic as the Son.¹⁹ The name of the Third is the Holy Spirit. Cyril insists on the uniqueness of each: "There is only one Holy Spirit, the Paraclete. . . There is

19 Of course, the Nicene "consubstantial" ("homoousion") need not have these implications. It depends on the meaning assigned to that highly ambiguous word. Cyril equivalently teaches the "coessential" in two senses: (1) "having the same essential predicates (or description)" and (2) "of the same divine nature," nature or essence being understood, as it must be in the case of spirits, as a genus.

one God, the Father . . . and one Lord, Jesus Christ . . . and one Holy Ghost" (16.2).

It is a magnificent theology, a brilliant statement. Free from the self-conscious theorizing of the splendid Cappadocian theology which it essentially anticipates, it is concrete, attractive, devotional, biblical, Johannine in the tradition of Origen, but having a higher doctrine of the Son than Origen, whose theology, excessively dominated by the Logos concept and occasionally influenced by Middle Platonism, was somewhat minimizing. Cyril's concept of the "begotten God" somewhat resembles Origen's distinction between the supreme and absolute God (*autotheos*) and the second (*deuteros*) God. Similarly, Cyril is influenced by Origen when he says (4.8; contrast 11.16 etc.) that the Son is creator of all who partake of reason; Origen taught that, while the Father was universal creator, the Logos made all rational creatures. Cyril's Trinitarian theology is also approximately that of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. It is a masterly achievement; Cyril's superb theological style masks the extraordinary precision and finesse with which he expounds the central orthodoxy, the Royal Road (11.17). His theology is a tritheism qualified and redeemed by subordinationism, and a subordinationism qualified and redeemed by tritheism. The two criticisms cancel out. The Eastern party was accused of teaching polytheism (Socrates 1.23) and subordinationism.

Cyril taught that the Son is perfect Son of the perfect Father, that He is Very God and perfect (*teleios*: 4.7; 7.5; 11.18) God. He is creator and Lord of all without exception. While (16.4) "we preach not three Gods . . . but one God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost," yet "their worship is inseparable." This is all very right. The Son is the natural Son of God, and like begets like; the Father "began God" (11.18). As the "express image of the Father's substance," the Son has exactly the same attributes or predicates (eternity, etc.) as the Father. Therefore the "description" of the Son is the same as that of the Father. For "description," or sum

of predicates, may logically refer to essence and prescind from existence, the question of origin and existential status. As St. John said, the Father is in the Son, and to see the Son is to see the Father. Moreover the Father has conferred upon the Son all His prerogatives, such as lordship, and has associated the Son with Himself in the creation and rule of the universe. But if unoriginatedness be included among the list of predicates, then, Cyril repeatedly emphasizes that the Son is neither unbegotten nor absolutely unoriginated (*anarchos*). The Son is, however, both eternal and uncreate; and for Plato eternity was the hallmark of deity. Yet while, unlike the creatures, the Son has no *archē* (beginning, principle, origin) in time, He has an eternal *archē* in the Father. The Father alone is absolutely *anarchos*, the unbegun beginning or unoriginated origin (*archē anarchos*: 11.14, 18, 20). The unhappiness of the copyists at this doctrine is reflected by their interpolating (the manuscripts so far edited suggest) the word *anarchos* at 11.4, 5, 7, 13, 14, to make Cyril conform to the orthodoxy of a later, scholasticizing age. But Cyril's doctrine is the paradox of the derived, the begotten, though not created, God. "Son," alike in Scholastic and Hebraic thinking, implies on the one hand the inheritance of nature and rank, but also dependency and subordination. God begets God, but He cannot beget an Unbegotten. Certainly "there is nothing lacking (in deity)" to the Son (4.7; 11.13), but this refers to content, not the existential status or origin. Similarly in creation, the Son created all things "at His Father's bidding"; He rules the universe because the Father has committed to Him all authority. His rule is eternal and divine and by birthright (*ek physeōs*), but it is delegated; He sits as Crown Prince at the Father's right hand, who alone has absolute sovereignty (*authentikē exousia*). Everywhere in his exposition of the Son's role as creator, lord and judge Cyril emphasizes that He is invested with these offices by His Father, holds them in dependence on the Father, and exercises them in submission to the Father (7.5; 10.5, 9; 11.10, 22, 23). The

Son's status and activity correspond exactly to His nature and being as the Only-begotten. It was not that Cyril was unaware of possible distinctions between the Son's person and nature, or between His divine and human nature; no, *en pleine conscience* he expounds his doctrine. For Cyril the Son's title, the Son or the Only-begotten, tells us both who and what He is. He emphasizes that the Son Himself glories in His position: "He was not ashamed to call His Father 'His God'" (11.18).

When (11.16) Cyril quotes John 14.11, "the Father is in me," he explains it (11.18), with his profound feeling for Johannine theology, as meaning that, as the living image of His Father, the Son reflects and reveals Him; he correctly relates it to John 14.9. Similarly in 11.18, which is a magnificent summary of his position, Cyril explains the meaning of "separate" in his common formula, "we must neither confound nor separate Father and Son." In Cyril, as in most patristic Trinitarian contexts, "separate" means of a foreign or contrasting nature; the Only-begotten is not a creature, but "own Son" (*idios*) of the Father. It is decidedly not a question of God and god, though perhaps of GOD and God. A score of passages show that St. Cyril regarded any interpretation of the Son as a mode, manifestation or "presentation" of the Father as Sabellian. "Separate" has also a kind of local, or even social, sense in Cyril; he thinks of the Three Inseparables, for the Holy Spirit is always around too (*aei symparon*, cf. *Procat.* 15; *Cat.* 15.24; 17.5).

The puzzle is that so many of Cyril's formulas can be paralleled almost verbally in Athanasius, even some of his "subordinationist" passages, e.g., his quoting the Fourth Gospel to the effect that "the Son can do nothing by himself, he can only do what he sees the Father doing" (John 5.19; cf. 5.21, with C. K. Barrett's commentary). But the emphasis in Athanasius is usually a little different, and in his later writings the trend is towards "numerical" identity, though he usually, perhaps always, avoids committing himself to it unambiguously. He may have come to think that the line as

drawn by Cyril could not be held, it was too subtle. But probably he never quite grasped the Cyrilline position; he could not quite match Cyril's intellectual distinction. The metaphysical approach was explicitly developed in the so-called Athanasian Creed, but this was never a recognized standard of orthodoxy in the East and scholarly opinion is hardening in the view that it was the theology of St. Cyril and the Cappadocians that was canonized by Constantinople I (A.D. 381), when, ratifying the Nicene "homousion," it interpreted it in the sense of "three hypostases and one *ousia*," a formula which, like St. Cyril himself, was anathema to St. Jerome, the admirer of Athanasius.

Is monotheism safeguarded in Cyril's system? The Greek Fathers' approach to the problem of the divine unity was not primarily arithmetical. In Cyril's system the "Monarchy" is safeguarded in many ways: (1) There is a single source of deity. (2) The divine Trinity is a single source of created being. (3) The Three possess a generic unity. (4) "God" is the proper name only of the Father. (5) There is a single harmonious and hierarchical divine action in creation, world-rule and salvation: the Father does all things by the Son in the Holy Spirit. (6) While standing absolutely on the divine side of the gulf dividing God and creatures and possessing all the essential predicates of deity, the Only-begotten and the Holy Spirit derive their sovereignty from the Father. (7) There is a kind of (analogical) unity of "race" (*genos*). (8) The Three are Inseparables, and Their worship is indivisible. Howbeit, if haply I err in this matter, I declare my submission and adhesion to the holy Catholic and Apostolic faith.

The Cappadocian theology, which took up the torch, was probably more Eastern than Western, though its distinction between nature and *idiotētes* (the distinctive characteristics and relationships of the Persons) might presuppose the concept of either specific or generic nature. The definition by Constantinople I in 381 of "three hypostases in one *ousia*" was probably a compromise between Eastern and Western

trinitarian theology. Nicaea had used *ousia* and *hypostasis* as synonyms in its anathematism, and as late as 376 St. Jerome, a strong Westerner, was imploring Pope Damasus to resist a definition in these terms. Many, but probably not all, Roman Catholic theologians hold that the Fourth Lateran Council (1215 A.D.), with its formula *una summa res* ("one supreme reality"), finally settled the question in favor of (numerical) substantial identity. Yet the Church made Cyril a Doctor of the Church quite recently.

It is regrettable that Cyril was not content with distinguishing sharply between revelation and speculation, but seems to have eschewed systematic theological reflection. For his trinitarian theology could be related in interesting ways to other dogmas, notably the incarnation and work of Christ and the restoration of man. Highlighting the functionally differentiated and hierarchical pattern within the Trinity and taking with full seriousness the eternal obedience of the Son, this theology suggests an intelligible inner continuity between the preëxistent and the incarnate Christ "obedient unto death." Especially is this true when the redemption is conceived as the restoration in man of the divine image; for it is precisely as the obedient Son that the Word is the eternal Image, and it was precisely by disobedience that man lost the divine image-by-grace and divine sonship, and by his obedience as the second Adam and new Israel that Christ restored it. Again, if we think of man's task in Eastern terms as his divinization by grace, the Eastern theology, with its emphasis on the three Persons rather than the one divine nature, reminds us that God is not only the infinite Good but also the obedient and loving response to divine generosity and goodness.

Cyril reminds us that by his ascension Jesus is not removed from us, but rather is made universally available:²⁰

He both sits on high and is here present together with us . . . His absence now in the flesh does not mean that

²⁰ *Cat.* 14.30.

He is absent in the Spirit. He is here present in the midst of us . . .

Thus Cyril concludes *Catechesis* 14 with Bonhoeffer's "transcendent in the midst." But it is in the "contemplative" or "mystical" exegesis,²¹ employing imagination in Coleridge's profound sense of the word, rather than in the catechizing, that such "existential" themes are best explored. Cyril's *Homily on the Paralytic* is a study in encounter with the Transcendent historically revealed in Christ. The dramatic suspense of this homily depends on the enigmatic personality of the Healer and the success or failure of the various characters to penetrate the disguise of Him who is "the true Bread," "the Light which lightens every man," "the resurrection," "the physician of souls" and "the Lawgiver." The opening sentence abruptly proclaims Jesus as "the Man for others": "Wherever Jesus appears, there is salvation." This Jesus "makes himself all things to all: to the hungry, bread, to the sick, a physician, to sinners, absolution," and He comes bringing not empty words but deeds, especially to those in desperate straits.²²

Sozomen has an interesting passage: the emperor Constantius, he says, at first followed the Nicene beliefs of his father Constantine, but was later converted to Homoeousianism. For the Eusebians and other Eastern bishops of the same generation whose life and intelligence commanded admiration drew a distinction between *homoousios* and *homoiousios*, teaching that the former properly applies only to material things like men, animals, and trees, which (severally) have the same specific nature and reproduce after their specific kind. But in the case of immaterial beings, such as God and angels, the proper term to express corresponding relationships is *homoiousios*, for here no species can include more than one member, but each existent individual is unique.²³

²¹ *theōretikē*, *Cat.* 13.9.

²² *Homily on the Paralytic* 1, 5, 7, 9.

²³ Sozomen 3.18.1-3. It may be suspected that, quite soon after Nicaea,

The Eastern theologians were aware of the biblical usage by which a proper name is the clue to function, and function the clue to nature. They knew, too, that "father" in the Bible connotes authority, and that the essential characteristic of a son is to obey;²⁴ and they thought of divinity to a large extent in terms of authority rather than ontologically. Again, the idea of "father" and "unbegotten" is close to the idea of creator, the "self-existent" "uncaused" or "unoriginate," which common sense and philosophy both asserted to be an essential predicate of God. Thus they reached the idea that Christ, as the Son and heir of his Father's nature, has the divine nature and is truly and properly God, yet the Father (the Old Testament Creator God, Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts) is God *par excellence*. Here one can see how the divine begetting created a problem, and why Cyril insisted that it must be left shrouded in mystery. For while we have empirical knowledge about procreation in the human and animal world, where reproduction is according to species and "like begets like," the Father's *specific* nature includes Fatherhood; his genus is deity, but his specific differentia is to be a Father and the Unbegotten. But presumably as an individual member of a species begets according to his species, so an individual species begets according to genus. Therefore, the Father will beget God, but God the Son, not the Unbegotten but the Only-begotten. Yet "God" is the Father's proper name, and moreover one had begun on the assumption that to be self-existent, unoriginate and unbegotten was at least a primary predicate of deity. Still, reflection guided by revelation suggests that absolute and unqualified unoriginateness need be a predicate only of God *par excellence*; the unique Son of the Unbegotten and Unoriginate is truly God; for the Father has communicated to Him all his divine

Constantine changed over to the "Homoiousian" doctrine, though not then so called.

²⁴ Israel's claim to sonship depended on its obedience, and by his obedience our Lord showed Himself, and created, the new Israel.

nature except unbegottenness; the Son remains within the charmed circle of deity. To be begotten by the Self-existent in such wise as to have exactly the same generic nature as He, is certainly to be God. This exact sameness of (generic) nature is sometimes illustrated by the Fathers by the image of two torches or lights, one of which has been kindled from the other. They are exactly alike, indistinguishable, "Light from Light." St. Athanasius, however, was not satisfied with this metaphor. One can see St. Cyril's Seleucian ally, Basil of Ancyra, reflecting on the question and the linguistic problem in his synodical epistle (358) and invoking the biblical distinction between *theos* and *ho theos* as exemplified in Philip-pians 2.6-11.²⁵

Just as Christ, he says, "born in the likeness of men," was truly man, though not man in all respects (for He was not born, like men, from human seed and through marital intercourse), so He who before the ages was the Son is God, as being the Son of God, just as, incarnate, He was man, as being the Son of Man:

So being "the Son of God (*tou theou*)" and "being in the form of God (*theou*)" and being "equal to God (*theōi*)," He had the essential predicates of Divinity, being like the Father in incorporeality, deity and the divine operations . . . [Paul does not say that] He is "the form of *ho theos*," but "of *theos*," nor that He is "equal to *ho theos*" but "to *theos*" . . . Those who deny the *essential* likeness of the Son to the Father make Him not a Son but a creature . . . The concept of "likeness," however, does not imply total likeness to the Father as an individual,²⁶ but likeness in nature, just as "the likeness of sinful flesh"²⁷ does not imply total similarity to historical man (who is a sinner) but *specific* sameness.

²⁵ Epiphanius, *Haer.* 73.9. My translation abbreviates and paraphrases a little.

²⁶ *tautotēta*. So Origen (*Contra Celsum* 8.12) speaks of *tautotēti boulēs*, i.e., not a single will (as faculty), but of several wills having the "same" decision or resolution.

²⁷ Rom. 8.3.

Only the Father, Basil also says in this passage, is God *authentikōs*, that is, "principally," *par excellence* or "as an original" (of which the Son is a replica). This passage incidentally illustrates what seems to be the normal meaning of *tauto* and *tautotēs* in the Fathers in this context, i.e., *specific* identity or exact likeness without exception or qualification—and not, as is often assumed nowadays, the literal identity of two things. Similarly *homoios* seems *normally* to mean not some degree of resemblance, but exact likeness in *all respects under consideration*, though the likeness may be *understood* to be limited in range, intensity or substantiality.²⁸ The passage probably also shows the nature of the orthodox Eastern objection to the "homoousion." Apparently by the fourth century the natural and usual meaning of *homoousios* was "of the same specific nature." Now, while the Father's generic nature was deity, his specific nature, they thought, included paternity. Moreover, as Basil goes on to say,²⁹ *Ousia* ("Being") is practically the Father's name and indicates his personal and incommunicable identity.³⁰ Hence, within this terminological pattern, *homoousios* implies a Sabellian *huiopatoria* (Son-Fatherhood). Origen, however, had used *homoousios* in the sense of generic unity (a natural meaning of the word, since Aristotle had used [second] *ousia* for both species and genus) to express the common unity of the three Persons, whom he regarded as three real individual species.³¹ The learned Eusebius conveniently recalled this fact when called upon to sign the "homoousion" formula at Nicaea,³² as probably Acacius and Meletius also did when they accepted the "homoousion" in 363. In this pattern of thinking Father, Son and Holy Spirit are three different individual species, but have generically the same (divine)

²⁸ The likeness or image may be only a picture or a reflection in water. It may, further, be only analogical.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 12.

³⁰ Exod. 3.14 as (almost certainly) misinterpreted in LXX: "I AM he who Is." So also Athanasius.

³¹ Wolfson I 321.

³² Socrates 1.8.7 *fn.*

nature. The council reached the "homousios" formula under the guidance of Constantine who, lately come from the West and knowing that Christian doctrine teaches the divinity of Christ, had been told by the Spanish theologian Hosius that the proper way to state this truth, within the context of Trinitarian doctrine, was to say that the Son was "consubstantial" with the Father. The East objected to the term because it was unscriptural and was commonly believed to have been misused by Paul of Samosata and, in consequence, to have been condemned by a great Eastern council at Antioch in 268. Moreover, both *ousia* and *homousios* were philosophical words with a wide range of possible meanings, and several possible meanings of *homousios* in this context were highly unorthodox.

Even one like Cyril, who presumably only signed the "homousion" in the sense of generic unity, had always, even before he signed it, emphasized the *adiairetōtēs* (inseparability) of the Three in power, worship, sovereignty, and also in some further sense. The further sense he would have interpreted less ontically than Athanasius; "the Inseparables" would have had for him a more personal suggestion. But he thought of the Three also as seated together on the same throne. Probably Athanasius would have allowed this view. Personally I prefer the image of a mystic dance whose weaving pattern provides a sufficient ontic unity; and the Cappadocians, with their *ex halyseōs*,³³ would have accepted this. Such metaphorical or mythological language is as far as we can get in the mystery of the divine Unity and Trinity—which is not to deny that for the more metaphysical mind the conception of a physical or mathematical unity may have its value. Or one may suggest the analogy of the way three chords combine into one musical phrase, or the question whether a Greek Trilogy may not with equal fitness be called either one or three, or the way in which in an orchestra the percussion,

³³ Indeed this image ("linked") rather suggests a spiritual dance in which Power, Wisdom and Love commingle.

strings and wind form an essential and functional unity and co-create a single world of harmony. It is enough that we adore the Triune God.³⁴

Eastern patristic theology had its roots in biblical and Platonic rather than Aristotelian thought-forms. Where Western theology, in its search for final statements, moves on to ontology, the Eastern Fathers, while not questioning the primacy of ontological categories, found it more fruitful to explore the biblical revelation in the symbolic, personalist, and functional categories in which it was given. Thinking of divinity in terms of spiritually creative and redemptive power, Eastern theology found no difficulty in finding room in the divine nature, at least among "the weak things of God," for filial devotion and obedience. On this view the Trinitarian dialogue already foreshadows the biblical "address (demand) and response," and a continuity is established between the eternal and the incarnate Word. We shall misunderstand both the Bible and the Greek Fathers if we invariably interpret their thought ontologically; it is, commonly, broader, open-ended, polyvalent. In this way of thinking God is revealed in what He does, and especially in what He did in Christ: "My Father worketh until now, and I work," "I am in the midst of you as one that serveth," "He who sees me sees the Father." Jesus is God, but also God is Jesus.

Athanasius comes very near to saying, perhaps unclearly or ambiguously says, that the Son has numerically the same being as the Father. His profound discussion of the Son's eternal generation regards this generation as the Father's total communication of his own being to the Son, and Athanasius perhaps regarded this communication on the model of the replication of a Platonic "form." The question would then

³⁴ Greek patristic theology would be prevented from interpreting John 10.30 in terms of a mathematical unity by such texts as Gen. 2.28, Eph. 2.13-18, 1 Cor. 6.18. Similarly in the Greek Fathers *achoristos* may mean "not separate socially" or "in rank"; cf. Gal. 2.11f., where Peter for a time "practised apartheid" (*aphorizen heauton*).

arise whether the "replica" was numerically the same as the original or not. But why, then, did the orthodox Eastern bishops resist the Nicene and Athanasian theology? Apparently because the Nicene and Athanasian "homooousios" could be, in the fourth century, understood as asserting that Father and Son shared a common *specific* nature. This, excluding the Eastern distinction between the specific and the generic, seemed to make the Son exactly the same sort of being as the Father, whereas, if we are right in our reconstruction of the Eastern trinitarian logic, the East regarded the three Persons as Aquinas regarded angels—as being each a different and unique species and having only a generically common nature. For the East, the fatherhood of the Father was part of his specific nature. Consequently the assertion of a common specific nature would destroy the Second and Third Persons. Sozomen, abridging Socrates,³⁵ wrote:

The bishops had another tumultuous dispute concerning the precise meaning of the term "consubstantial." One party thought that it could not be admitted without blasphemy, that it implied the non-existence of the Son of God, and that it involved the error of Montanus and Sabellius. The champions of the term, on the other hand, regarded their opponents as Greeks [pagans], and considered that their views led to polytheism.

Further evidence of the hypothesis that the dispute between the Homooousians and the Homoeousians centered in the genus-species question may be found in those passages where Athanasius (*Decr.* 23, *De Syn.* 41, *Tom. Ant.* 5), instancing a dog and a wolf or gold, silver and copper, says that such generic identity of nature is insufficient: a dog does not father a wolf; yet wolf, dog (and man) belong to the same genus (animal), just as base metals and the royal metal, gold, belong to the same genus (metal). Both examples, however, are unfair. The Eastern conception could

³⁵ Sozomen, 2.18; Socrates, 1.23. The passage shows incidentally that Eusebius of Caesarea and Eustathius of Antioch were the respective champions of the two theological schools just after Nicaea.

not be generalized; it was unique and determined by revelation: one divine Father, one divine Son and one divine Holy Spirit; the great dividing line runs between God and creatures. Where Arianism viewed Christ as a uniquely noble creature, this Eastern theology coördinates Him in worship with the Father, though always second after the Father. Like the Father, the Son is an uncreated source of creation and redemption. As regards his being, He is "begotten, not made." He does not derive his being from an "external" act of creation, but is by nature the Son of the Father, who communicates to Him his (generic) divine nature with all his divine attributes except Unoriginatedness. His action in creation and redemption corresponds to his being; though dependent on the Father, it is intrinsically creative and redemptive. He is the Son.

In one sense this theology is polytheistic. The existence of several Divine Persons ("Gods") would be absurd if they were in conflict. Athanasius³⁶ shows the impossibility of dualism; two Gods "that are contrary to one another" cannot exist either together or apart. Can there be two Infinities? The Greek philosophers usually regarded infinity as a mark of imperfection; perfection they equated with form, which has bounds. Quantitative infinity is inapplicable to God; the analogy of works of art is more relevant. Athanasius does not, at least usually, include infinity when he lists the divine attributes.³⁷ Two Unoriginates and universal sources of being would be impossible, but the Eastern theology did not teach this.

Undoubtedly the Eastern theology has its problems; but the Blessed Trinity is mysterious. The Latin theology has its problems too. Cardinal Newman (?) wrote on the "numerical identity" solution: "Such a statement indeed is not only a contradiction in the terms used, but in our ideas, yet not

³⁶ *Against the Heathen* 7. But the Christian Trinity can exist together, and this may be the meaning of *achōristos* (i.e., "not divided or existing apart").

³⁷ E.g., *Or. c. Ar.* 1.21; *Afr.* 8.

therefore a contradiction in fact.³⁸ Moreover, the English formula, "three Persons and one nature," is somewhat misleading, since intellect and will follow nature, so that there is but one divine will and intellect.³⁹ Constantinople I seems not to have defined the numerical unity; the Council of Chalcedon defined that Christ is "in His divinity consubstantial with the Father, and in His humanity consubstantial with us."⁴⁰ Finally, for the interpretation of the Gospel according to St. John it is important to observe that, according to Eastern theology, it is not that the Son comes "instead of" the Father, but precisely to present or re-present Him, rather as, when the Bonnie Prince unfurled the Royal Standard on his native shores, loyal Scots were not only aware that they stood in the presence of the blood royal, but from his bearing, face and glance knew that in him the King, his father, lived again.

6. The Creed of Jerusalem ("J")

A sentence in a footnote in a recent article by E. Bihain, who has been collating the unedited manuscripts (which are the majority) of the pre-baptismal *Catecheses*, seems to express doubts about the reliability of quotations from J in the present editions of Cyril. Dr. J. N. D. Kelly, therefore, may prove to have been presciently right in describing J, in his monumental *Early Christian Creeds*, as "a largely artificial construction." Nevertheless, pending further clarification by Bihain of the position of the manuscripts, we may provisionally summarize the present position regarding the relation of J to C (the "Constantinopolitan" Creed, i.e., the Creed

³⁸ *Athanasius* 366 n. 1.

³⁹ Was Prestige aware that this is the teaching of Latin theology when he wrote that, while both theologies teach the numerical identity of the divine substance, the Eastern theology teaches only one divine "subject" but Western theology three?

⁴⁰ Denzinger, n. 301 (148). But see PGL s.v. *homousios*, II, c. 4.

recited at Mass on Sundays in East and West, and often mis-called the Nicene Creed). Our discussion of Cyril's life and theology makes this question of great interest. We shall speak of three articles (corresponding to the Trinitarian division) and twelve clauses in the Creed.

Regarding the possibility of collecting the text of J from the Lectures: while quotations of J in the titles of the individual lectures are, though probably usually right, unreliable, on the evidence of the manuscripts *so far edited* quotations of J in the text of the Lectures are reliable; they do not seem to have been conformed by the copyists to the Creed (C) familiar to them. Ten clauses of J can be easily collected from the Lectures. Some slight uncertainty, however, attaches to the third clause, and the fourth clause, on which everything turns in establishing the relation of C to J, is definitely problematic.

In a very learned article Fr. I. Ortiz de Urbina has sought to derive J from the Old Roman Creed. But the Eastern creeds seem to be a different, parallel growth, and C seems to be Eastern. Until two generations ago C was commonly assumed to be a revision of the Creed of Nicaea (N). Then in a brilliant and persuasive article, F. J. A. Hort championed the derivation of C from J. Hort's connection of his thesis with an interpretation of St. Cyril's history is unconvincing. The two theses that Cyril accepted the "homooousion" *ca.* 362 and that he presented his creed, J, at Constantinople (A.D. 381) as evidence of his orthodoxy seem mutually destructive. Nor, I think, did Hort present in the most logical or convincing pattern the evidence for J's being the base of C. But he showed brilliant insight in discerning the evidence, and he may well have been right in his main thesis.

J is physically incorporated in C to the extent that only nine or ten (Greek) words of J fail to appear in C. While the third *article* in C is largely a new construction, not comparable with any early baptismal creed, the reader of Lectures 16 and 17 will see how much of it is emphatically and verbally

taught by Cyril. The main alleged difficulty to J's being the base of C is the brevity of the third *clause* in J as it is found in most reconstructions of J. These reconstructions assume that this clause is quoted, and fully quoted, in 12.13, "(Let us believe in Jesus Christ as) having come in the flesh and been made man." But even assuming that Cyril is here quoting the Creed, it is extremely doubtful whether he is quoting it completely; the words seem only to summarize the position so far reached in Cyril's exposition of the third clause. While it is impossible to detail the argument here, Lecture 12.3 and especially 4 (end) show that Cyril is going to proceed systematically, breaking up the third clause and taking it point by point. In fact the rest of the Lecture expounds and "demonstrates" the whole of the long third clause as it is found in C. This tips the balance decisively.

It is doubtful whether C had any connection with Constantinople I. Apart from other problems, a creed ("Ep. I") almost identical with C appears in Epiphanius' *Ancoratus* 18, written in 374. If C (= Ep. I) is an expansion of J, the case for Cyril's having accepted the "consubstantial" by 374 or earlier is strengthened. This is not in itself unlikely. Athanasius' allowance, in the sixties, of the "three hypostases" formula and his conciliatory emphasis that the "homooousion" was not intended to assert more than the Scriptural data must have been important concessions for Cyril. Only the evidence of Socrates and Sozomen makes it unlikely. Is Ep. I authentic? There is no sign of corruption or interpolation in the only manuscript of the *Ancoratus*. But Epiphanius' description of Ep. I as the Creed of the whole Church and as authorized by "all the holy bishops, above 310 in number," and the terms in which he compares it with Ep. II (Ch. 19), make it very probable that N, not C, originally stood in the text—as E. Schwarz, Papadopoulos, and Kelly (p. 319) have argued. If so, then C could have been drafted at Constantinople in 381 by a small committee chaired by the great Bishop of Jerusalem and using J as its basic model.

THE TEXTS

*The Nicene Creed ("N")*¹

We believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Only-begotten—that is, of the substance of the Father—God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the Father; through whom all things were made, things in heaven and things on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate, and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into Heaven, is to come to judge living and dead;

And in the Holy Spirit.

And those who say . . . (Concludes with the Nicene anathematism.)

*The Jerusalem Creed ("J")*¹

I We believe in One God the Father almighty
maker of Heaven and earth
of all things visible and invisible

II And in one Lord Jesus Christ the Only-begotten Son
of God
begotten true God of the Father before all ages
through whom all things were made

¹ Translated from Hort's text. Cf. Denzinger, n. 125.

¹ Reconstructed from the *Catecheses*, esp. 7.4; 9.4; 11.21; 14.24; 15.2; 17.3; 18.22, ignoring the titles. The text of ten clauses (i.e., of all but III and IV) seems to be certain, though there is perhaps a little doubt about "all" in I. (Cf. Denzinger, n. 41.)

- III² who came in the flesh (?) (and) was made man . . . (?)
- IV and was crucified (?)³ and was buried (?)⁴
- V who rose on the third day
- VI and ascended into Heaven
and sat down on the right of the Father
- VII and is to come in glory to judge living and dead
of whose reign there will be no end
- VIII And in one Holy Spirit and Paraclete
who spoke in the prophets
- IX and in one baptism of repentance unto the remission
of sins
- X and one holy Catholic Church
- XI the resurrection of the flesh
- XII and life everlasting.

The "Constantinopolitan" Creed ("C")¹
(the so-called "Nicene")

We believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages,^J Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, consubstantial with the

² Cf. *Cat.* 12.13.

³ Cf. *ibid.* 13.38.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 4.11; 13.39; 14.3, 11, 17, 18.

¹ Translated from E. Schwartz's text of C. (Cf. Denzinger, n. 150.) J marks the end of the Jerusalem beginning, N the end of the Nicene insertion. Only nine or ten words of J fail to appear in C.

Father, through whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation came down^N from Heaven, and was made flesh of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and became man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried, and rose on the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into Heaven, and sits on the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge living and dead, of whose reign there will be no end;

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceeds from the Father, who with the Father and the Son is together worshipped and together glorified, who spoke through the prophets;

In one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church:

We confess one Baptism unto the remission of sins. We look forward to the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

ANTHONY A. STEPHENSON

*THE INTRODUCTORY
LECTURE*

(Procatechēsis)

Translated by

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THE PROCATECHESIS

or

PROLOGUE TO THE CATECHETICAL LECTURES



ALREADY, MY DEAR CANDIDATES for Enlightenment,¹ scents of paradise are wafted towards you; already you are culling mystic blossoms for the weaving of heavenly garlands;² already the fragrance of the Holy Spirit

¹ I.e., Baptism; also intellectual "enlightenment," for pre-baptismal instructions impart the revealed system of (supernatural and esoteric) knowledge; cf. 6.29. Light is a prominent theme in the Bible from the second verse of Genesis to the last chapter of the Apocalypse. Particularly important in the Johannine writings, the symbol was used also by the Qumran community (cf. the war between "the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness") as well as in Zoroastrianism and the Greek mystery religions. Cf. T. Halton, "Baptism as Illumination," *Irish Theol. Quart.* 32 (1965) 28-41.

For literary and rhetorical reasons (note the anaphora, the thrice repeated *ēdē*, "now," "already"), the "paradise scents" and "mystic blossoms" seem to refer to the candidates' recent enrollment and subsequent ceremonies rather than to the graces of the lower grade of the catechumenate. Cyril means that the candidates' registration has brought them so close to the Paradise of which the sacramental initiation will seize them that already its exciting scents are sometimes borne to them along the breezes. Compare the "yet brighter and more fragrant meadow of this Paradise" of *Myst.* 1.1. The imagery, inspired by the Song of Songs, favorite reading of Cyril, would be more appropriate and natural if spring had already appeared in the land—implying a later Easter. But in 14.10, four or five weeks later, Cyril says the date is about March 25th and this implies an early Easter. In 18.7, he says the season is "wintry" and adds: "The trees now stand as if they were dead: where are the leaves of the fig-tree? . . ."

There is no contradiction if the language in *Procat.* 1 is purely metaphorical. For other evidence about the season, cf. 4.30; 13.18.

² The garlands are probably those worn at banquets, especially marriage feasts. Cyril refers to the nuptials between the soul and Christ (the Bridegroom) at Baptism, a spiritual wedding consummated in the Eucharist, itself the pledge and foretaste of the marriage-feast of

has blown about you. Already you have arrived at the outer court of the palace:³ may the King lead you in! Now the blossom has appeared on the trees; God grant the fruit be duly harvested! Now you have enlisted; you have been called to the Colors.⁴ You have walked in procession with the tapers⁵ of brides in your hands and the desire of heavenly citizenship in your hearts; with a holy resolve also, and the confident hope which that brings in its train. For He is no liar who said: "For those who love Him, God makes all things conspire to good." Yes, God is generous and kind; nevertheless He requires in every man a resolve that is true. That is why the Apostle adds: "For those who are called in accordance with a resolve." It is the sincerity of your resolution that makes you "called."⁶ It is of no use your body being here if your thoughts and heart are elsewhere.

the Lamb; cf. *Procat.* 3 and 4, *Cat.* 3.1.

"Mystic": *noēta*, intelligible. Thus early Cyril introduces the Platonic category of the sensible-intelligible, adapted to Christian spirituality and sacramental theory.

- 3 I.e., at the threshold of Baptism, which is the portal of the Paradise of the Church conceived eschatologically. Cf. *Procat.* 15-17, *Cat.* 18.34.
- 4 In *Myst* 1.2-9, the candidates, immediately before Baptism, renounce Satan and take Christ for their Lord and Master. Roman army recruits took an oath (*sacramentum*) pledging their personal fidelity to the emperor. For the adaptation of this idea to the Christian mysteries (called *sacramenta*, "sacraments," in the West) cf. Tert., *Ad Mart.* 3. The Latin New Testament translated *mystērion* by *sacramentum*. Cf. Col. 1.13, Eph. 2.1-2, 1 Pet. 2.9; and St. Augustine's doctrine (*City of God*) of the two kingdoms or realms, each with its own king, laws, goods, destiny, principle, and life.
- 5 Apparently, therefore (for this passage seems to be the chief or only evidence), at some ceremony following their registration, perhaps, in a formal entrance procession into the church for the opening lecture, the candidates carried lighted tapers or torches, "a significant symbol both of the marriage of the soul with Christ, and of its enlightenment by faith" (Gifford, xvii)—and also of the heavenly teaching which, as *illuminandi*, they were about to receive.
- 6 Cyril stresses the importance of human effort to the point of misinterpreting Rom. 8.28. His successor, John, refused to condemn Pelagius at a diocesan synod at Jerusalem, July 28, 415, as a Palestinian synod at Diospolis (Lydda) also did in December 415; cf. John Ferguson, *Pelagius* (Cambridge 1956) 82-89. This is not to say that John was a Pelagian, still less Cyril, who is not asking whether sincerity too is not God's gift, but only rhetorically insisting upon the necessity of cooperation with grace. Cf. also Ch. 8. and *Sermon*, Ch. 4 and 5 *fin.*

(2) Why, there was a Simon the Sorcerer⁷ once who approached the baptismal waters: he was dipped in the font, but he was not enlightened. While he plunged his body in the water, his heart was not enlightened by the Spirit;⁸ physically he went down and came up, but his soul was not buried with Christ, nor did it share in His Resurrection. If I mention these examples of falls, it is to prevent *your* downfall. "Now all these things happened to them as a type, and they were written for the correction"⁹ of those who approach the font to this day. Let none of you be found tempting grace, "lest some bitter root spring up to poison"¹⁰ your heart. Let no one enter saying: "I say, let us see what the believers¹¹ are doing; I'm going in to have a look and find out what's going on." Do you expect to see without being seen? Do you imagine that while you are investigating "what's going on," God is not investigating your heart?

(3) We read in the Gospels of a busybody who one day decided to "investigate" a wedding-feast.¹² Without dressing

7 Although, according to Acts 8.13, Simon Magus "believed," Cyril invariably assumes that he had been insincere from the first, at least in the sense that he had not "believed from the heart" (which implies more than an intellectual response); cf. 1 John 2.19.

8 Cf. Origen, *Hom. in Num.* 3.1: ". . . neque omnes qui loti sunt aqua, continuo etiam Spiritu Sancto loti sunt." Origen illustrates from the hypocrisy of Simon.

9 1 Cor. 10.11.

10 Cf. Heb. 12.15.

11 I.e., apparently the upper class of catechumens, i.e., the candidates (*phōtizomenoi-illuminandi*) who, contrary to the custom of other churches, at Jerusalem were assimilated to the faithful and no longer called catechumens.

12 Cf. Matt. 22.1-14, esp. verses 11-13. Perhaps what was originally a separate parable begins at verse 11. If the two parables are read as one, it is not clear—since the guests have been hastily collected from the highways and by-ways—how one could be blamed for not being in his "party clothes." Cyril, without mentioning the difficulty, offers an answer: "Should not your eyes have informed you?" Or perhaps (Telfer) Cyril realized that the two parables were independent and felt free to invent the circumstances of the unmannerly guest's entry. K. Stendahl thinks that there is no problem in oriental parable, where the details can be forgotten once they have served their purpose or be supposed to change appropriately as required by the unfolding story (Peake's *Commentary on the Bible* [London-New York 1962] *ad loc.*). The defective dispositions which mark Cyril's "intruder" seem

correctly for the occasion, he entered the dining room and, unchallenged by the bridegroom, took his place at table. Etiquette, of course, demanded that, seeing everybody's white garments, he should conform; but in fact, though fully the match of his fellow-guests as a trencherman, he did not match them in his dress (I mean, his resolve). The bridegroom, for all his large-heartedness, was not undiscerning and, while going the rounds of the company and observing his guests individually (it was not what they ate, but the correctness of their behavior and dress that interested him),¹³ he saw a stranger without a wedding garment, and said to him: "Pray, sir, how did you get in? What a color! What effrontery!"¹⁴ The doorkeeper did not stop you in view of the liberality of the host? Quite so. You didn't know the correct dress for a festive occasion? Quite. Nevertheless, you came in; you saw the glittering clothes of those at table. Should not your eyes have been your teachers? Should not a timely exit then have been the prelude to a timely return? As it is, your untimely entrance can lead only to your untimely ejection." Turning to his attendants, he ordered: "Bind those feet" which presumptuously intruded; "bind the hands" which had not the wit to put a bright garment on him; and "cast him into the outer darkness"; for he is not worthy of the bridal torches.

to be not so much imperfect faith as moral: the lack of the determination to make a decisive break with the old life in favor of the new life with the ethical quality demanded by the Gospel. See Ch. 3. In the era introduced by Constantine's conversion, when Christianity became first a tolerated and then a privileged religion in the Empire, the merely curious or the dilettante might be found among the candidates. In first-century Palestine, "the wedding garment was not, apparently, a special garment, but ordinary clean clothes" (J. C. Fenton, *Saint Matthew* [Pelican Gospel Commentaries, 1963] *ad loc.*). While on the night of their Baptism the candidates would be literally all in white (the Easter color, as Lancelot Andrewes observed), in the Greek Koine "white garments" meant simply "dressed in one's best" (Telfer). In Ch. 4, Cyril explains and applies the metaphor; cf. 3.2.

13 Reischl encloses this parenthesis in square brackets, presumably as an interpolation, but his justifying note is obscure.

14 Or, keeping the apparently universal meaning of *syneidesis*, "What a conscience!" Then the phrase is probably either Cyril's interpretation of, or a scribal gloss upon, "What a color!"

Ponder, I bid you, the fate of that intruder, and look to your own safety.

(4) For our part, as Christ's ministers we have given a welcome to every man and, in the role of porter, have left the door ajar. You, maybe, have come in with your soul befouled with the mire of sin and with your purpose¹⁵ sullied. You came in; you were accepted;¹⁶ your name was entered in the register. Do you see the majesty of the Church? Do you behold, I ask, its order and discipline, the reading of the Scriptures, the presence of the ecclesiastical orders, the regular sequence of instruction? You are on holy ground; be taught by what you see. Withdraw in a good hour now, and come back in a right good hour tomorrow. If the fashion of your soul was avarice, put on another fashion, and then come in. Put off, I say, lewdness and impurity; put on the bright robe of chastity. I give you timely warning before Jesus, the Bridegroom of souls, comes in and sees the fashions. You cannot plead short notice; forty days are yours for repentance; you have opportunity in plenty for undressing, for laundry-work, for dressing again and returning. If you persist in an evil

15 *Proairesis* (resolve, intention, motive, project) is important in the *Catecheses* as also in first-century Jewish proselyte baptism, where conversion had to be intended or chosen for its own sake and not as a means, or as incidental, to something else; cf. D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (Oxford 1956).

16 (*Katēxiōthēs*) Apparently, therefore, in Cyril's time acceptance for registration was not automatic. In Aetheria's time (ca. 390?; *Peregrinatio* 45) intending candidates, having previously given in their names to a priest who jotted them down, on the eve of Lent attended a formal scrutiny by the bishop who inquired of their neighbors whether they could give them a good character. If so, he formally entered their names in the register; else "he told them to go out and reform themselves . . . and then approach the Laver." Cyril probably means that, like his imaginary door-keeper in the parable, he had given the candidates the benefit of any doubt, reflecting no doubt that only God can read the heart. He regularly (cf. Telfer) puts the responsibility on the candidates; cf. 1.3. Nevertheless, the first sentence of Ch. 15 reminds us that in most churches there were periodical scrutinies during the final stages of preparation for Baptism. Candidates for admission to the Qumran community were examined to test their "spirit and learning"; while they practiced periodical ritual bathing, it is disputed whether admission to the order was by a bath after a period of instruction and probation.

purpose, the preacher is guiltless, but you must not expect to receive the grace. Though the water will not refuse to receive you, you will get no welcome from the Spirit.¹⁷ If anyone is conscious of a wound in himself, let him have it dressed; if any has fallen, let him rise. Let there be no Simon among you, no hypocrite—and no Paul Pry.

(5) Perhaps you have come with a different motive: perhaps you are courting, and a girl is your reason—or, conversely, a boy. Many a time, too, a slave has wished to please his master, or a friend his friend. I allow the bait, and I welcome you in the trust that, however unsatisfactory the motive that has brought you, your good hope will soon save you. Maybe you did not know where you were going, or what sort of net it was in which you were to be caught. You are a fish caught in the net of the Church. Let yourself be taken alive: don't try to escape. It is Jesus who is playing you on His line, not to kill you, but, by killing you, to make you

¹⁷ Here as in Ch. 2, Cyril seems to attribute the reception of the Spirit to water (rather than to chrism). In 3.3 also, the "spiritual grace" is given "with the water," and it is natural to read 3.3 as saying that it is in the baptismal bath that the Holy Spirit seals souls, as is said explicitly in 3.4. In 3.5, "the gift" of "grace" (*charis*) is "given through water," the fairest of the four elements, and Cyril quotes Gen. 1.1. In 1.2 also, "the grace" is given, along with the new birth, in the "Holy Bath," and 1.5 shows that "the grace" includes "the communication of" (or "participation in") the Holy Spirit as well as the forgiveness of sins (3.2, 12, 15, 16). It is natural to read 1.2 and 3.3 as meaning that the Seal, like regeneration and adoption, is given in "the Holy Bath," as is stated explicitly in 3.4. Thus, while the *Catecheses* think of the Holy Spirit as working in the Baptismal water, in the *Mystagogica*, by contrast, the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Christ at Jordan is (3.1) distinguished from His actual baptism, and (3.1-2) in the sacramental initiation the unction is correspondingly distinguished from water-baptism and it is in the post-baptismal unction that the Holy Spirit descends. In the *Mystagogica*, therefore, the Chrismation rivals Baptism in importance and it is (3.5) only after Chrismation (Confirmation) that one becomes really entitled to the name of "Christian." Many scholars, however, have argued that the *Catecheses* and *Mystagogica* can be harmonized by supposing that in the *Catecheses* "Baptism" often refers to the whole initiatory rite and thus includes Chrismation. To settle this question, one must notice what effects the *Catecheses* ascribe not simply to "Baptism," but to the water. It is, I think, impossible to harmonize the two works on this point.

alive. For you must die and rise again. Did you not hear the Apostle say: "dead to sin, but living to justice"?¹⁸ Die, then, to sin, and live to righteousness; from today be alive.

(6) What honor Jesus bestows! You used to be called a catechumen, when the truth was being dinned into you from without:¹⁹ hearing about the Christian hope without understanding it; hearing about the Mysteries without having a spiritual perception of them; hearing the Scriptures but not sounding their depths. No longer in your ears now but in your heart is that ringing; for the indwelling Spirit henceforth makes your soul the house of God. When you hear the texts from Scripture concerning the Mysteries,²⁰ then you will have a spiritual perception of things once beyond your ken.

Do not suppose that it is a small thing that you are being given. You, a pitiable creature, are receiving the family name of God. Listen to Paul saying: "God is faithful."²¹ Listen to another Scripture saying God is "faithful and just."²² It was because he foresaw this—because men were to bear a name which belongs to God—that the Psalmist, speaking in the person of God, said: "I have said: you are gods, and all of you the sons of the Most High."²³ But take care that you do not, while rejoicing in the name of "faithful," have the resolve of the faithless. You have entered for a race: run the course; you will not get the like chance again. If it were your wedding day that was fixed, would you not, ignoring everything else, be wholly engaged in preparations for the marriage

18 Cf. Rom. 6.11; 1 Pet. 2.24.

19 The word-play of the Greek depends on the derivation of "catechumen," etc., from *ēchē*, "a ringing sound" (cf. "echo"), *katēchō* then means "sound a thing in a person's ears," hence "teach by word of mouth," and finally, "instruct in the elements (of Christianity)."

20 "Mystery" in the Greek Church corresponds to the word "sacrament" in the Latin Church, especially the initiatory rites. In Cyril, "mysteries" also covers (e.g., 6.29) the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which Cyril equates with the Creed. In this broad sense, "the Mysteries" cover the subjects of both series of *Catecheses*.

21 1 Cor. 1.9.

22 1 John 1.9.

23 Ps. 80.6.

feast? Then, on the eve of consecrating your soul to your heavenly Spouse, will you not put by the things of the body to win those of the spirit?

(7) A man cannot be baptized a second and a third time. Otherwise, he could say: "I failed once; the second time I shall succeed." Fail once, and there is no putting it right. For, "one Lord, one faith, one Baptism." It is only heretics who are rebaptized, and then because the first was no Baptism.²⁴

²⁴ Here we abandon RR, who adopted M 1's "splendid text" ("praeclara lectio"), "some heretics," and follow the great majority of MSS and Toutée. Toutée judged that Reg.'s omission of this sentence was due to haplography and not to the scribe's being shocked by Cyril's contradicting the teaching of the (medieval Western) Church. There seems, however, little doubt that Reg.'s omission and M 1's variant ("too good to be true") are due to some such scruple. If M 1's text were the original, the variants would be inexplicable. But, whereas since Augustine and probably since the Council of Arles (314; can. 9 [8]) heretical Baptism, if administered in the Name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, has usually (but see Nic. Can. 19) been deemed valid in the Western Church, Eastern practice has been much less uniform. Even the decision of Nicaea (Can. 19, and cf. 8) that convert Paulianists, though not Novatians, must be rebaptized (*anabaptizesthai*), explained by Athanasius (*Orat. c. Arian. 2.42-43*) in relation to their defective Trinitarian faith, is much closer to Cyril's principle, than to Arles' since most fourth-century heresies were Trinitarian.

Telfer takes Cyril to mean that certain heretical sects do "repeat baptism," i.e., practice frequent ritual ablutions. This, though ingenious, seems less probable. The PGL seems to show no parallel for this meaning of *baptizomai*; rather, the *ana* implies the repetition (cf. *anablepō*, *anapneō*) of an act or state conceived of as normally unrepeatable or unrecoverable. Cyril seems to interpret "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism" as excluding both the repeatability of a Baptism associated with the one Faith and the possibility of a true Baptism apart from it. Lest, however, we rashly judge Cyril a bigoted rigorist, we must remember that for him (*Cat. 4.3-18; 5.12*) "the Faith" was almost synonymous with the Creed. The "heretics" to whom he refers were no doubt the far-out Gnostic sectaries and particularly, perhaps, the Manichees, who were scarcely Christians at all (6.12). For in 6.14, he says: "The inventor of all heresy was Simon Magus" (the reputed founder of Gnosticism) and in 6.20 he speaks of hating "all heretics" but especially Mani, though the Manichees (6.21) were "not of Christian origin." To the groups whom he thought of as "heretics," Cyril's attitude was uncompromising: 4.37; 6.35; 15.9 (probably referring to both Arians and Sabellians, cf. 4.8; 11.13, 16, 17); 4.2. For an English translation of the principal documents in the third-century re-baptism controversy, cf. J. Stevenson, *A New Eusebius* (London 1957) 251-257, 323, 360-364.

(8) God requires of us only one thing, sincerity. Do not go on saying, "But how are my sins blotted out?" I answer: "By assenting, by believing." Could any answer be more succinct? If, however, not your heart but only your lips proclaim your assent, well, it is the "Reader of hearts"²⁵ who is your Judge. From today cease from every evil deed; let not your tongue speak unholy words, nor your eye commit evil or rove after vanities.

(9) Let your feet take you swiftly to the catachetical instructions. Submit to the exorcisms devoutly.²⁶ Whether you are breathed upon or exorcised, the act spells salvation. Imagine virgin gold alloyed with various foreign substances: copper, tin, iron, lead. What we are after is the gold alone; and gold cannot be purified of its dross without fire. Similarly, the soul cannot be purified without exorcisms, exorcisms which, since they are culled from the divine Scriptures, possess divine power. The veiling of your face is to foster recollection, lest a roving eye make your heart also stray. But the veiling of the eyes does not hinder the ears from receiving salvation.²⁷ Just as goldsmiths with their delicate instruments direct a blast upon the fire and, by agitating the surrounding flame, cause the gold hidden in the crucible to bubble up and so gain their object, in the same way when the exorcists inspire fear by means of the divine Spirit²⁸ and regenerate the soul by fire in the crucible of the body, our enemy the Devil flees, and we are left with salvation and the sure prospect of eternal life; and henceforth, the soul, purified of its offenses, has

²⁵ Cf. Acts 1:24; 15:8.

²⁶ In Aetheria's time (*Peregr.* 46), the candidates were exorcised daily by "the clerics" after the dawn service in the Church of the Resurrection. The exorcizing and teaching (in the Great Church, i.e., "Golgotha" or "The Martyry") occupied three hours, from six to nine.

²⁷ Whereas for Greek philosophy, knowledge tends to be the analogue of visual perception of form and so objective, impersonal and universal, in the biblical tradition saving knowledge is a matter of a personal response of faith, and obedience to an audible word of invitation and command.

²⁸ In Hebrew (cf. Gen. 1.1 and 2.7), Greek, and Latin, the same word means "spirit" and "breath."

salvation. Let us, then, my brethren, persevere in hope; let us commit ourselves in hope: so will the God of all, seeing our resolution, cleanse us from our sins, grant us a good hope of our estate, and bestow on us repentance unto salvation. It is God who has called, and it is you that He has called.

(10) Be faithful in your attendance of the catechizing. Even though we protract our discourse, do not let your mind yield to distraction. You are taking up arms against the enemy. You are taking up arms against heresies, against the Jews, against the Samaritans, against the Gentiles. Your enemies are many: take plenty of ammunition; you have targets in plenty. You must learn how to shoot down the Greek and do battle with heretic, Jew, and Samaritan.²⁹ Your weapons are sharp, and sharpest of all is "the sword of the Spirit."³⁰ But your own right hand must strike with a holy resolution, to fight the fight of the Lord, if you would conquer the opposing powers and make yourself proof against every stratagem of heresy.

(11) Let this also be included in your battle orders: study what you are told and guard it forever. Do not confuse the pre-baptismal instructions with the ordinary sermons. Ex-

²⁹ This could suggest (cf. Toutée, *ad loc.*) that the program of the *Catecheses* is largely apologetics. For apologetics against the pagans by rational argument, cf. 12.27 and 18.5-10; against the Samaritans, Cyril could appeal to the authority of the Pentateuch (18.11-13); against the Jews, he appeals to the Old Testament and the fulfillment of its prophecies in the New; against heretics, he argues from all Scripture as handed down in the Church (4.35) from the Apostles. Ch. 11, however, suggests rather a program of systematic theology. Since even of the groups mentioned in Ch. 10 only the pagans (not important in the *Catecheses*) are routed by rational argument, and even they can only be taught the revealed truth through the exposition of the inspired Scriptures, the method of the *Catecheses* is predominantly systematic in a broad sense (they have the same sort of unity as the Creed) and dogmatic. Essentially, the *Catecheses* are the "demonstration" of the Creed, itself regarded as "collected" from Scripture (5.12; 4.17 and *passim*); this is the saving knowledge. But the argument, prominent in the *Catecheses*, from miracles and especially prophecy, is predominantly "apologetic," though Cyril handles it somewhat dogmatically, everywhere assuming the inerrancy of Holy Scripture.

³⁰ Eph. 6.17.

cellent and reliable as those are, still, if we neglect their lessons today, we can learn them tomorrow. But the systematic instruction about the laver of regeneration—if that be neglected today, when shall the loss be made good? Imagine it is the season for planting trees: unless we dig, and dig deep, when can the tree be planted aright that has once been planted amiss? Or let me compare the catechizing to a building. Unless we methodically bind and joint the whole structure together, we shall have leaks and dry rot, and all our previous exertions will be wasted. No: stone must be laid upon stone in regular sequence, and corner follow corner, jutting edges must be planed away: and so the perfect structure rises. I bring you as it were the stones of knowledge; you must be instructed in the doctrine of the living God, of the Judgment, of Christ, of the Resurrection. Many things have to be said in order, which are now being touched upon at random but will then be brought together into harmonious system.³¹ Unless you achieve this unity of design, holding the beginning and the sequel in your mind together, the builder may do his best, but your house will be a ruin.

(12) If after the class a catechumen asks you what the instructors have said, tell outsiders nothing. For it is a divine secret that we deliver to you, even the hope of the life to come. Keep the secret for the Rewarder. If someone says, "What harm is done if I know about it too?," don't listen to him. So the sick man asks for wine, but, given to him at the wrong time, it only produces brain-fever, and two evils ensue: the effect on the sick man is disastrous, and the doctor is maligned. So with the catechumen, if he is told the Mysteries by one of the faithful: not understanding what he has been told, the catechumen raves, attacking the doctrine and ridi-

³¹ The time-notes favor Toutée's (different) interpretation: the *Catecheses* systematize what the candidates have heard in the ordinary sermons. But how can they have heard the doctrines of the Creed in the ordinary sermons? Cf. Ch. 12. Is there, then, after all (cf. Ch. 14 and 16.27), something in Cabrol's theory that, as in Aetheria's time (*Peregr.* 46), the Lenten teaching fell into two parts? Improbably, on the evidence at present available.

culing the statement, while the believer stands condemned as a traitor.

You are now a man standing at a frontier: so, no careless talk, please. Not that these are not fit subjects for discussion, but that your interlocutor is not fit to hear them. You yourself were once a catechumen; I did not then describe to you the country which lay ahead. When you grasp by experience the sublimity of the doctrines, then you will understand that the catechumens are not worthy to hear them.

(13) All you who have been enrolled are the sons and daughters of one Mother. When you come in before the exorcisms are due to begin, let the conversation of each of you be such as to excite devotion. If anyone is absent, make search for him. If it were to a feast that you had been invited, would you not wait for your fellow guest? If you had a brother, would you not seek what is good for your brother?

Finally, do not indulge in idle curiosity—no asking “what the city has done,” or the ward, or the Emperor, or the Bishop, or the priest. Lift up your eyes: now, as your hour strikes, you need Him who is above. “Be still, and know that I am God.”³² If you see the believers not recollected when they are ministering, well, they are safe; they know what they have received; they possess the grace. Your fate is still in the balance, to be accepted or not. Instead of copying the carefree, cultivate fear.

(14) During the actual exorcism, while waiting for the others, let men be with men, and women with women. For now I need Noe's ark, that I may have Noe and his sons together, separate from his wife and his sons' wives.³³ For, although the ark was one and the door was closed, yet decorum was observed. So now, though the church doors are barred and you are all inside, let distinctions be kept: men with men, women with women. Let not the principle of salvation be made a pretext for spiritual ruin. Keeping close

³² Ps. 45.11.

³³ Cf. Gen. 7.7-9, 13.

together is a good rule, provided that passion is kept at a distance.

Furthermore, let the men have some profitable book in their hands while they sit waiting, and let one read from it and another listen. Or, if there is no book available, let one pray and another talk about something useful. Let the virgins likewise form a separate band, singing hymns or reading; silently, however, so that, while their lips speak, no other's ears may hear what they say. For, "I suffer not a woman to speak in church."³⁴ Let the married woman imitate them: let her pray, and her lips move, but her voice not be heard. So shall Samuel come among us: your barren soul, that is to say, shall bring forth the salvation of "God who has heard your prayers."³⁵ For that is the meaning of "Samuel."

(15) I shall be watching the earnestness of each man and the piety of each woman. Let your heart be fired to piety; let your soul be tempered like steel, as the stubborn metal of unfaith is hammered on the anvil till the dross scales off and the pure iron is left. Let the rust flake away, leaving the authentic metal.

May God one day show you that night whose darkness is daylight, the dark of which it is said: "Darkness shall not be dark to thee, and night shall be light as the day."³⁶ Then, may the gate of Paradise be opened to every man of you and every woman. Then, may you enjoy the fragrant, Christ-bearing waters. Then, may you receive Christ's name³⁷ and

³⁴ 1 Cor. 14.34; cf. 1 Tim. 2.11-12.

³⁵ Cf. 1 Kings 1.12-14.

³⁶ Ps. 138.12. The reference is to Holy Saturday night during which the candidates were baptized in the Church of the Resurrection, brilliantly illuminated to symbolize the return of the risen light and their own sacramental enlightenment.

³⁷ This (cf. Ch. 13 *fin.* and *Myst.* 3.5) suggests that it was only proleptically and by courtesy that the candidates were styled "believers." Still, the evidence (*Procat.* 6, 12, 13, 17; *Cat.* 1.1, 4; 3.15; 5.1; 10.16; 11.9; 18.26), though it does not prove that at Jerusalem (unlike other Churches) the candidates were quite consistently classed as "believers," does show that the important distinction there was between the catechumens on the one hand and the candidates and believers on the other.

the power of things divine. Even now, I beseech you, in spirit lift up your eyes; behold the angelic choirs, and the Lord of all, God, on His throne, with the Son, the Only-begotten, sitting on His right hand, and the Spirit, too, and the Thrones and Dominations ministering, and every man of you and every woman receiving salvation. Even now let there ring in your ears that excellent sound which you shall hear when the Angels, celebrating your salvation, chant: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven,"³⁸ on the day when, like new stars of the Church, you will enter, your bodies bright, your souls shining.

(16) Great is the prize set before you in Baptism: ransom for captives, remission of sins, death of sin, a new, spiritual birth, a shining garment, a holy seal inviolable, a Heaven-bound chariot, delights of Paradise, a passport to the Kingdom, the grace of the adoption of sons. But a dragon lies in ambush for the traveler; take care he does not bite you and inject his poison of unbelief. Seeing this numerous company winning salvation, he selects and stalks his prey.³⁹ In your

³⁸ Ps. 31.1.

³⁹ Cyril refers to the "roaring lion" of 1 Pet. 5.8. Ps. 90.13 couples the dragon and the lion. Is this dragon who "lies in wait" (*tērei*) for the foot of the initiate traveling to "the Father of souls" related to the serpent of Gen. 3.15? Cf. also "the croucher" (sin or the Tempter) of Gen. 4.7. There are perhaps traces in the *Catecheses* of Gnostic as well as apocalyptic and mystery-religion language and imagery. Jerusalem was not far from Samaria, the home of Simon Magus (Acts 8.9), whom Cyril (6.14), like other Fathers, oversimplifying, made the origin of Gnosticism. But many Christian Gnostic ideas were themselves borrowed from much older sources. Cyril's suggestion that the dragon may bite without hurting is interesting. The same dragon reappears just below (and cf. 3.11-12) as the sea-dragon Leviathan of Isa. 27.1 (cf. 51.9 and Job 41) who is related to the chaos-dragon of the Gilgamesh epic (who stole the hero's herb of immortality when he was bathing), who is related to Tiamât of the Babylonian creation epic, baptized as Tehom (chaotic abyss), the symbol of disorder and evil in Gen. 1.1 (cf. Ps. 73.13-14). The home of the dragon was the Jordan (Job 40.23, *lect. dub.*), though probably his earlier dwelling was "old Nile." The dragon is important in the Apocalypse, but Cyril for some reason excluded the Apocalypse from the Canon (4.36). While Cyril's strong doctrine of the divine transcendence (not to mention 9.7 and the *Blitzkrieg* on Gnosticism in *Cat.* 6) excludes any suspicion of Gnostic dualism. *Myst.* 1 takes very seriously the (biblical) theme of the Christian's

journey to the Father of souls, your way lies past that dragon. How shall you pass him? You must have "your feet stoutly shod with the gospel of peace,"⁴⁰ so that, even if he does bite you, he may not hurt you.

With Hope invincible for your sandals and with Faith the guest of your heart, you may pass through the enemy's lines and enter into the house of the Lord. Prepare your heart for the reception of teaching and the fellowship in the holy Mysteries. Pray more frequently, that God may count you worthy of the heavenly and eternal Mysteries. Never be idle, day or night, but so soon as sleep falls from your eyes let your mind occupy itself with prayer. If you notice that an evil thought has entered your mind, hold tightly to the saving remembrance of Judgment. Apply your mind to learning, that it may forget low things. If you find someone saying to you: "So you are to go down into the water? What's wrong with the new public baths?" be sure that this is a ruse of "the Dragon that is in the sea." Attend not, then, to the lips of the speaker of guile, but to the Spirit of unbelief and deceit who works in him.⁴¹ Guard your own soul if you would

war against the Powers of Darkness. For the (thoroughly Scriptural) "up and down" theme in the *Catecheses*, see, e.g., 4.1, 9, 11-15; 11.10; 15.1; 12.2, 5, 10; 14.3, 25; 17.13-15; 18.15; 3.12, and perhaps cf. Aetheria's report (*Peregr.* 42) that the Church of Jerusalem, probably ca. 390, went to Bethlehem to keep the vigil of the Ascension, and "the bishop and presbyters preached sermons appropriate to the day and the place." But for Dekkers' alternative explanation of this surprising Bethlehem "station" (which incidentally would date the Pilgrimage to 415-417), cf. Cross, p. xviii n. 1.

40 Eph. 6.15. The weapons and equipment mentioned here and in Ch. 10 echo the theme of the Christian warfare visualized in Eph. 6.10-20 as a conflict against evil angelic powers—"virtually the sole significant remnant of Jewish apocalyptic" in Ephesians (H. Chadwick, *ad. loc.* in Peake's *Commentary of the Bible* [London-New York 1962]). The "panoply" or "whole armor of God" reappears in the *Myst.*, where (3.4) it is completed by the "mystical Chrism," so that only after the Chrismation can the neophyte challenge and vanquish the Adversary; cf. *Cat.* 3.13. The Powers of Darkness are probably thought of as embodied in the heretics, Jews, Samaritans and Greeks (pagans) whom the candidates are being armed against; cf. 4.1 and 6.35 and the reading adopted at the end of this chapter; see next note.

41 Deserting RR and Toutée for the Paris MS (cod. Reg.); cf. Eph. 2.1; 2 Thess. 2.7-12. Most MSS have: "Attend not to the lips of the

avoid being trapped and would inherit, after standing fast in hope, everlasting salvation.⁴²

(17) These, then, are the instructions, these the battle orders, that I (so far as a man may) give to you. To make our house "hay, straw" and chaff is to risk its total loss by fire; no, make the work of "gold, silver, precious stones."⁴³ For it is mine to speak, yours to translate my words into action,⁴⁴ and God's to perfect the work. Let us prepare our hearts, straining every nerve and sinew of soul and mind. The race is for our souls; we have set our hearts on an eternal prize. God, who knows your hearts and discerns who is genuine and who is only acting a part, is able both to keep the sincere safe and to make a believer of the hypocrite. Yes, even of the unbeliever God can make a believer if only he gives his heart.⁴⁵ May He "cancel the decree against you";⁴⁶ may He grant you an amnesty for your former sins; may He set you as His sons in His Church and enlist you in His own service, arraying you in the armor of righteousness. May He fill you with the heavenly treasures of the New Covenant and sign you with that seal of the Holy Spirit which no man shall break forever, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

TO THE READER⁴⁷

These Catechetical Lectures, addressed to candidates for Enlightenment, may be given to those going forward for Bap-

speaker, but to God working in him," where "the speaker" is the preacher. But Cyril seems to mean that the serpent speaks in the tempter.

⁴² Cyril's emphasis on hope is notable. As Gabriel Marcel has shown, this Christian theme needs stressing in our time.

⁴³ 1 Cor. 3.12, 15.

⁴⁴ Diffidently following Toutée instead of RR with most MSS, "to resolve."

⁴⁵ Or perhaps "if only He give the heart."

⁴⁶ Col. 2.14.

⁴⁷ The work referred to in this note clearly did not include the *Mystagogical Catecheses*. The authorship and date of the note, for which

tism and to the already baptized faithful. They may, on no account, be given to catechumens or to other classes of non-Christians. Anyone making a copy is hereby adjured, as in the sight of the Lord, to preface it with this warning.

cf. Ch. 12, are uncertain. The "rule of the secret" excluded pagans and ordinary catechumens from the Lenten lecturing in the Jerusalem of 350; cf. *Procat.* 12, *Cat.* 5.12 (where, incidentally, the copyists omitted the text of the Creed); 6:29; 16.26 *fin.*

LENTEN LECTURES

(*Catechēses*)

I-XII

Translated by

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FOREWORD TO THE CATECHESSES

THE FIRST THREE DISCOURSES of Cyril develop the topic, "and in one baptism for the remission of sins," though the first *Catechesis*, like the *Procatechesis*, is largely introductory in character. There is great diversity in the manuscripts which have preserved the second *Catechesis*. Worthy of note is the opinion of Cyril (*Cat.* 3.7) that the baptism of John remitted sin.

The fourth *Catechesis* is a summary exposition of the fundamental Catholic doctrines. The details concerning the separate cells of the translators of the Septuagint, and the miraculous agreement of their versions (Ch. 24) were apparently an invention of Philo Judaeus, but accepted by some of the Fathers.

Cyril proceeds to discourse on Faith (5), the Unity of God (6), God the Father (7), Omnipotent (8), and Creator (9). There follow the lectures on One Lord Jesus Christ (10), the Only-begotten Son of God (11), who was made flesh (12), and was crucified and buried (13), and rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father (14), and who is to come with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there is no end (15). Cyril devotes two lectures to the Holy Spirit (16-17), and concludes the *Catecheses* on the Creed with a discourse on the words: "And in one Holy Catholic Church, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in life everlasting" (18). The bizarre story of the Phoenix (cf. Herodotus 2.73), advanced as an argument for the resurrection of the flesh (*Cat.* 18.8), seems to have been believed by some of the Fathers.

As he completes the exposition of the Articles of Faith,

Cyril promises further instruction on the reception of Baptism on Easter day itself, and on the days following Easter other discourses on the various mysteries of which the baptized are to become partakers.

To the modern reader Cyril's accommodation of Scripture texts will often seem strained or farfetched. Assuming that the record of the Old Testament is prophetic, he is constantly discovering what he believes to be prophetic anticipation of the events in the life of our Lord. This is particularly true in connection with His passion, death, resurrection and second coming. As for Cyril's position on the Trinity, I would here state that I do not accept some of the findings set out in pp. 34-60 above.

In the rendering of Cyril's biblical quotations into English, use has been made of the version published under the patronage of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. When the Confraternity rendering is based on texts that do not correspond with Cyril's Greek, the necessary adaptations have been made.

LEO P. McCAULEY, S.J.

CATECHESIS I

An Introductory Discourse to the Candidates for Baptism

*“Wash yourselves clean! Put away the misdeeds of your souls from before my eyes . . .”*¹

(1) Disciples of the New Testament, sharers in the mysteries of Christ—as yet by calling only, but presently by grace as well—“make for yourselves a new heart and a new spirit,”² that you may become a subject of joy for the citizens of heaven. For if there is joy “over one sinner who repents,”³ according to the gospel, how much more will the salvation of so many souls gladden the blessed saints? You have entered upon a good and glorious course: run the holy race in good earnest. Eager for your redemption, the Only-begotten Son of God is present among us; He says: “Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will give you rest.”⁴ Clothed as you are in the rough garments of your offenses and “held fast in the meshes of your own sins,”⁵ listen to the prophet’s voice saying: “Wash yourselves clean! Put away the misdeeds of your souls from before my eyes,”⁶ that the angelic choir may chant over you: “Happy they whose faults are taken away, whose sins are covered.”⁷ Guard unquenched in your hands the torches of faith you have just lighted, that He who of old here on all-holy Golgotha opened

1 Cf. Isa. 1.16.

2 Ezech. 18.31.

3 Luke 15.7.

4 Matt. 11.28.

5 Cf. Prov. 5.22.

6 Cf. Isa. 1.16.

7 Ps. 31.1.

up Paradise to the robber because of his faith, may grant you grace to sing the bridal song.

(2) If any man here is a slave of sin, let faith fit him for the new birth of adoption that will set him free. Exchanging the ignoble bondage of his sins for the blessed bondage of the Lord, let him be counted worthy to inherit the kingdom of heaven. By confession,⁸ "put off the old man which is being corrupted through his deceptive lusts,"⁹ to put on the new man which is being renewed unto perfect knowledge of his Creator.¹⁰ Attain by faith the pledge of the Holy Spirit that you may win admittance into the everlasting tabernacles.¹¹ Come forward for the mystical seal, that you may be recognizable by the Lord. Be numbered in the holy, spiritual flock of Christ, that you may be set apart on His right hand and inherit the life prepared for you. For the lot of those still clothed in the rough garments of their sins is on His left hand, because they did not attain the grace of God, which is given through Christ, in the regeneration of Baptism. I do not mean corporal regeneration, but the spiritual regeneration of the soul. For bodies are born of visible parents, but souls are reborn through faith. For, "the Spirit breathes where he will."¹² Then you may hear, if you are worthy: "Well done, good and faithful servant,"¹³ when you have been found free in conscience from hypocrisy.

(3) If there is any man here who thinks of tempting God's grace, he deceives himself and knows not its power. Let every man keep his soul free from deceit, because of Him who searches hearts and reins.¹⁴ For just as those who set about levying an army examine the ages and constitutions

8 "confession": The confession referred to here and elsewhere in the *Catecheses* is obviously not secret auricular confession, but a public acknowledgment of sins and faults committed in the past.

9 Eph. 4.22.

10 Cf. Eph. 4.24; Col. 3.10.

11 Cf. Luke 16.9.

12 Cf. John 3.8 (Douay).

13 Matt. 25.21.

14 Cf. Ps. 7.10.

of those who enlist, so the Lord, when He raises His levy of souls, examines their motives; and where He finds a secret hypocrisy, He rejects the man as unfit for the true service. But if He finds a man worthy, He readily bestows His grace upon him. He does not give what is holy to the dogs, but where He discerns a worthy motive, there He confers the wonderful seal of salvation. Before this demons tremble whereas angels acknowledge it, so that the former are put to flight while the latter honor it as something kindred. The recipients of this spiritual and saving seal must have the proper disposition. For as the pen or the dart requires the hand of the user, so grace also demands believers.

(4) The armor you receive is not corruptible but spiritual. The paradise into which you are to be planted is not seen by the eye. You are being given a new name you did not possess. Instead of catechumen, you will now be called a Believer. From now on, you are grafted upon the stock of the spiritual olive, like a slip transplanted from the wild olive into the good olive tree, from sin to righteousness, from corruption to purity. You are to be made partaker of the holy vine.¹⁵ If you abide in the vine, you will grow as a fruitful branch; if you will not abide, you will be consumed by fire. Let us then bear fruit worthily. May we be spared the fate of the barren fig tree; may Jesus not come even now and curse us for our barrenness. Grant that all may be able to say: "I, like a green olive tree in the house of God,"¹⁶ an olive tree not visible to the eye, but spiritual and luminous. While it rests with Him to plant and water, it is your part to bring forth fruit. It rests with God to bestow grace, but with you to accept and cherish it. Do not despise the grace because it is freely given, but rather cherish it with reverence once you have received it.

(5) Now is the time for confession. Confess your transgressions, whether in word or deed, by night or day. Con-

¹⁵ Cf. John 15.1, 4, 5, 6.

¹⁶ Ps. 51.10.

fess at the accepted time, and on the day of salvation receive the treasure of heaven. Be earnest about the exorcisms. Be constant in attending the catecheses and be mindful of their teachings. For they are delivered not merely that you may listen to them, but that you may seal by faith what you have heard. Banish from your mind all human concerns, for the race you are running is for your soul. You are forsaking completely the things of the world: little are the things you leave behind, great are those bestowed by the Lord. Lay aside things of the present and put your trust in things to come. You have passed through so many cycles of years in the vain service of the world: will you not spare forty days for the sake of your soul? "Desist! and confess that I am God,"¹⁷ says Scripture. Renounce idle gossip; do not slander nor listen readily to the slanderer, but be prompt to prayer. Show in ascetic practice the firmness of your heart. Make clean your vessel that you may receive more grace. For though the remission of sins is granted to all alike, the communication of the Holy Spirit¹⁸ is granted in proportion to the faith of each. If you labor little, you will receive little; if you work hard, your reward will be great. You are running for yourself, so look to your own advantage.

(6) If you have aught against any man, forgive it him. You are coming forward to receive the remission of your own sins; you must, in turn, pardon him who has offended you. Else with what face will you say to the Lord: "forgive me my many sins," if you yourself have not forgiven the few sins of your fellow-servant? Be zealous in your attendance at Church, not only now when the clergy demand diligence,

¹⁷ Ps. 45.11.

¹⁸ Chapter 5: "Communication of the Holy Spirit": Cyril distinguishes two effects of baptism, first the remission of sins, which all who sincerely approach the sacrament receive; secondly, positive graces, or as he puts it, "the communication of the Holy Spirit." The second effect will vary, he feels, according to the fervor of faith and intensity of love of God on the part of the recipient. Note that the baptism of John (*Cat.* 3.7) grants remission of sin but not the communication of the Holy Spirit.

but after receiving the grace. For if before its reception it was a good practice, is it not good thereafter? If before your engrafting it is a safe course to be watered and tended, is it not far better after the planting? Sustain the struggle for your soul, especially in these days. Nurture your soul with holy readings; for the Lord has prepared for you a spiritual table. Repeat in the words of the Psalmist: "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. In verdant pastures he gives me repose; beside restful waters he leads me; he refreshes my soul";¹⁹ that the angels, too, may share your joy, and Christ Himself, the great High Priest, ratifying your purpose, may offer all of you to the Father, saying: "Behold, I and my children whom God has given me."²⁰ May He keep all of you well-pleasing to Himself, to whom be glory for the endless ages of eternity. Amen.

¹⁹ Ps. 22.1-3.

²⁰ Heb. 2.13.

CATECHESIS II

On Repentance, the Remission of Sin, and the Adversary

*"The virtuous man's virtue shall be his own, as the wicked man's wickedness shall be his. But if the wicked man turns away from all the sins he committed, [if he keeps all my statutes and does what is right and just, he shall surely live, he shall not die]."*¹

(1) Sin is a terrible thing, and the most grievous disease of the soul is iniquity, which corrodes the fibre of the soul and makes it liable to eternal fire. It is an evil freely chosen, the product of the will. For that we sin of our own free will, the Prophet clearly declares: "I had planted you, a choice vine of fully tested stock; how could you turn into bitterness, a spurious vine?"² The planting was good, but the fruit of set purpose evil; and, therefore, the planter is blameless, but the vine shall be burnt with fire, since it was planted for good, but its product was evil with malice prepense. "God made mankind straight," according to Ecclesiastes, "but men have had recourse to many subtleties."³ For "His workmanship we are," says the Apostle, "created in Christ Jesus in good works."⁴ Though the Creator, being good, created unto good works, the creature of its own free will turned aside to wickedness. Therefore, sin, as we have said, is a grievous evil, but it is not incurable, being grievous to him only who cherishes it, but easy of cure for him who puts it away by

¹ Ezech. 18.20, 21.

² Jer. 2.21.

³ Eccles. 7.29.

⁴ Eph. 2.10.

repentance. Imagine a man holding fire in his hand. So long as he grasps the burning coal, of course he is burned, but suppose he puts away the coal, then he has automatically cast away the flame with it. If any man thinks that he is not being burned when he is sinning, Scripture says to him: "Can a man take fire to his bosom, and his garments not be burned?"⁵ For sin burns; it cuts the sinews of the soul, and crushes the spiritual bones of the mind, and darkens the light of the heart.

(2) Yes, and someone will say: "What, then, is sin? Is it an animal? An angel? A demon? What is this which infects us?" Rest assured it is not an enemy attacking from without, but an evil springing up within you. "Let your eyes look straight ahead,"⁶ and there exists no evil desire. Steal not the property of others, and robbery is at an end. Be mindful of the judgment and neither fornication nor adultery nor murder nor any wickedness will prevail over you. It is when you forget God that you begin to entertain evil thoughts and commit wicked deeds.

(3) Yet you alone are not the source of the trouble, but there is also one who instigates you, the accursed devil. He makes his suggestions to all,⁷ but he does not prevail by force over those who do not give way to him. Therefore Ecclesiastes says: "Should the anger of the ruler burst upon you, forsake not your place."⁸ If you shut your door, you will be out of his reach and he will not harm you. But if you are so careless as to admit the lustful thought, reflection will cause it to strike roots within you; it will capture your mind and drag you down into an abyss of sins. But, you may say: "I am a Believer and no evil desire will overcome me, even though I dwell upon it often." Are you unaware that oftentimes a root by twining itself around a stone will crack it? Do not admit the

⁵ Prov. 6.27.

⁶ Prov. 4.25.

⁷ Translating the Maurist *pasin* (to all), rejected by Reischl-Rupp on stylistic grounds.

⁸ Eccles. 10.4.

seed, since it will shatter your faith. Before it has a chance to blossom pluck out the evil by the roots. Remissness at first leads in the end to the ax and to the fire.⁹ When your eyes first trouble you, have them treated betimes, else you will be consulting the oculist after you have lost your sight.

(4) The chief author of sin, then, is the devil, the begetter of all evil. This not I, but the Lord has said: "The devil sins from the beginning."¹⁰ Before him no one sinned. Nor did he sin because by nature he was of necessity prone to sin—else the responsibility for sin would reflect upon Him who created him thus—but after being created good, he became a devil by his own free choice, receiving that name from his action. Though he was an Archangel, he was afterwards called devil (slanderer) from his slandering,¹¹ and though he was once a good servant of God, he was afterwards rightly named Satan, for Satan is interpreted "the adversary." This is not my teaching, but that of the inspired Prophet Ezechiel. For, taking up a lament against him, he says: "You were a seal of resemblance, and crown of beauty; you were begotten in the Paradise of God," and a little further on: "Blameless you were in your conduct from the day you were created until evil was found in you."¹² The phrase, "was found in you," is most appropriate, for the evil was not brought in from without, but you yourself begot it. Thereafter, he mentions the reason: "You became haughty of heart because of your beauty: for the multitude of your iniquities you were wounded, and I cast you to the earth."¹³ Similarly, the Lord says in the gospels: "I was watching Satan fall as lightning from heaven."¹⁴ You see the harmony of the Old Testament with the New. When he fell, he drew many

⁹ Cf. Matt. 3.10.

¹⁰ 1 John 3.8.

¹¹ Cyril repeats in *Cat.* 8.4 that the devil was an archangel. His name of devil, i.e., slanderer, comes from the fact that he falsely charges men before God and God before men.

¹² Cf. Ezech. 28.12-15.

¹³ Cf. *ibid.* 17.

¹⁴ Luke 10.18.

away with him. To those who hearken to him, he suggests evil desires, whence arise adultery, fornication, and every kind of evil. By his agency our forefather Adam was cast out and exchanged for a Paradise that untilled produced fruits, a soil bringing forth thorns.

(5) "Well, then," you will say to me, "are we betrayed and lost?" Is there no salvation henceforth? We have fallen. Is it impossible to rise again? We were blinded. Can we never recover our sight? We have become lame. Can we never walk aright? In a word, we are dead; is there no resurrection? Will not He who raised up Lazarus, already four days dead and fetid, far more easily raise you? He who poured out His precious blood for us will free us from sin. Let us not despair, brethren, nor give ourselves up as lost. For it is a grievous thing not to believe in the hope of repentance. He who despairs of rescue increases his evils beyond measure, but once a man has placed his hopes in a cure, he readily shows concern for himself. For the robber who looks not for mercy proceeds to despair, but when he has hope of pardon, he often comes to repentance. If the serpent can rid itself of its old skin, shall we not rid ourselves of sin? And if thorny ground, when well tilled, has been changed into fruitful soil, shall salvation be irretrievable for us? Nature, then, admits of salvation, but the proper disposition is a requisite condition.

(6) God is a lover of man, and a lover in no small measure. For do not say: "I have been a fornicator and an adulterer, I have committed grievous sin, and not once but very often; will He not forgive? Will He not grant pardon?" Listen to what the Psalmist says: "How great is the multitude of your sweetness, Lord."¹⁵ The sum of your sins does not surpass the magnitude of God's mercies. Your wounds are not beyond the healing skill of the great Physician. Only surrender to Him with faith, tell the Physician of your malady. Repeat the words of David: "I said, I will confess against myself my iniquity to the Lord," and in like manner will be verified

¹⁵ Cf. Ps. 30.20.

the second part of the verse: "And you forgave the wickedness of my heart."¹⁶

(7) Do you, who have but lately come to the catechesis, wish to see the loving-kindness of God? Would you see the loving-kindness of God and the extent of His forbearance? Listen to the story of Adam. Adam, the first creature of God, was disobedient. Could He not have condemned him to death at once? But see what the Lord in His great loving-kindness does. Though he casts him out of Paradise—for he was not worthy, because of his sin, to live there—He settles him over against Paradise, that seeing whence and from what bliss he had fallen, he might be saved thereafter through repentance. Cain, the first-born man, became a fratricide, from whose wicked designings first stemmed murder and envy. Yet consider his sentence for slaying his brother. "Groaning and trembling shall you be upon the earth."¹⁷ Though the sin was great, the sentence was light.

(8) This was truly an example of God's loving-kindness, but it is small compared to the sequel. Consider the story of Noe. The Giants sinned and great iniquity was then spread over the earth, and because of it, the deluge was foreordained. In the five-hundredth year, God utters His threat; in the six-hundredth, He brings the deluge upon the earth. Don't you see the breadth of God's loving-kindness, how he delays execution a hundred years? Could He not have done at once what He did a hundred years later? But He purposely delayed, granting a reprieve for repentance. Do you see the goodness of God? And if the men of that time had repented, they would not have failed to experience the loving-kindness of God.

(9) Pass now, pray, to the others who were saved by repentance. Perhaps even among the women someone will say: "I have committed fornication and adultery. I have defiled my body with every excess. Can there be salvation for me?" Fix your eyes, woman, upon Rahab, and look for salvation

¹⁶ Cf. Ps. 31.5.

¹⁷ Gen. 4.12 (Sept.).

for yourself too. For if she who openly and publicly practiced fornication was saved through repentance, will not she whose fornication preceded the gift of grace be saved by repentance and fasting? For observe how she was saved. She said only this: "Since the Lord, your God, is God in heaven above and on earth below."¹⁸ "Your God," she said, for she did not dare call Him her God, because of her wantonness. If you want scriptural testimony of her salvation, you have it recorded in the Psalms: "I will think of Rahab and Babylon among those who know me."¹⁹ O the great loving-kindness of God, which is mindful even of harlots in Scripture. He did not say merely: "I shall think of Rahab and Babylon," but added, "among those who know me." The salvation procured by repentance is open to men and women alike.

(10) Even a whole people's sin does not defeat the mercy of God. The people fashioned a calf but God did not abandon His loving-kindness; men denied God, but God did not deny Himself. "These are your gods, O Israel,"²⁰ they said, and yet the God of Israel, according to His wont, became their Savior. It was not the people alone that sinned, but also Aaron, the high priest. For Moses says: "And the wrath of the Lord was upon Aaron"; "and I prayed for him," he says, "and God forgave him."²¹ Now if Moses, making supplication in behalf of the high priest who sinned, prevailed upon the Lord by his importunity, will Jesus, His Only-begotten Son, imploring God in our behalf, not prevail? If He did not prevent Aaron, because of his falling away, from acceding to the high priesthood, can it be that he will prevent you, coming from paganism, from attaining salvation? Repent in like manner, brethren, and grace will not be withheld from you. Manifest henceforth a blameless habit of life. For God is a lover of man, and all time cannot worthily recount His loving-kindness. Nay, if all the tongues

¹⁸ Jos. 2.11.

¹⁹ Cf. Ps. 86.4.

²⁰ Exod. 32.4.

²¹ Cf. Deut. 9.20.

of men were gathered into one, not even thus could they tell in part of the loving-kindness of God. For we relate in some measure what has been written of the mercy of God towards man, but we do not know how much He forgave the angels as well.²² For he pardoned them also, since there is only one without sin, Jesus, who cleanses us from our sins. But of the angels, enough.

(11) If you want further instances from among men, come to blessed David and take him as a model of repentance. He fell, David the great, fell, when, after sleeping in the afternoon and while walking on the roof, he was careless with his eyes and nature had her way with him.²³ The sin was consummated, but with it his honesty in avowing his sin did not pass away. Came the Prophet Nathan, swift censor, healer of the wound. "The Lord is wroth," he said, "and you have sinned,"²⁴ he, the subject, speaking to the king. But David the king was not indignant, for he regarded not the speaker, but Him who sent him. He was not dazzled by the throng of his attendant soldiery, for his mind traveled to the angelic host of the Lord, and as though he saw Him who is invisible, he trembled, and he replied to him who came, or rather, through him to Him who sent him: "I have sinned against the Lord."²⁵ You see the humility of the king, you see his confession. For had he been convicted by anyone? Did many share the guilty secret? The deed was done quickly and the Prophet was at hand at once to accuse him. The sinner acknowledged his sin and, because of his frank avowal, was quickly healed, for the Prophet Nathan who threatened him said at once: "The Lord also hath taken away thy sin."²⁶ You see the swift relenting of God in His loving-kindness.

²² Some see here an echo of Origen. Cyril's teaching on the angels is orthodox, but he seems to imply here venial faults in the good angels, possibly derived from the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse, where faults are found with the angels of the churches.

²³ Cf. 2 Kings 11.2.

²⁴ Cf. 2 Kings 12.1ff.

²⁵ 2 Kings 12.13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Yet Nathan said: "Thou hast greatly provoked the enemies of the Lord."²⁷ Time was when you had many enemies because of your uprightness, but your self-control protected you. Now that you have given up your strongest armor, you have enemies standing ready to rise up against you.

(12) Thus, then, did the Prophet comfort him, but blessed David, though he heard most surely the words: "The Lord hath taken away thy sin," did not cease from repentance, despite his kingly office. He put on sackcloth²⁸ instead of purple, and quitting the throne inlaid with gold, sat upon ashes on the ground. Nor was he content to sit upon ashes; he fed upon the ashes as he himself says: "For I eat ashes like bread, and mingle my drink with tears."²⁹ He melted his lustful eye with tears, saying: "Every night I flood my bed with weeping; I drench my couch with my tears."³⁰ When the magistrates of his people urged him to eat bread he refused and prolonged his fast for seven days. If a king made his confession in this way, ought not you, a private individual, to confess? After the revolt of Absalom, when there were many roads of escape open to him, David chose to flee by the Mount of Olives, as though his prophetic spirit invoked the Redeemer, who would one day ascend into heaven thence. And when Semei cursed him bitterly he said: "Let him alone,"³¹ for he knew that to him who forgives it shall be forgiven.

(13) You see what an excellent thing is confession. You see that there is salvation for the penitent. Solomon also fell; but what does he say? "Afterwards I repented."³² Achab, too, the king of Samaria, was an iniquitous idolater of surpassing wickedness, a murderer of the Prophets, an enemy of piety, a coveter of the fields and vineyards of others. Yet when he

²⁷ Cf. 2 Kings 12.14.

²⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 16, 17.

²⁹ Ps. 101.10.

³⁰ Ps. 6.7.

³¹ 2 Kings 16.11.

³² Prov. 24.32 (Sept.). Solomon's penance is not generally accepted.

slew Naboth by Jezebel's hand and the Prophet Elias came and merely threatened him, he rent his garments and put on sackcloth. And what does the merciful God say to Elias? "Hast thou not seen Achab humbled before me?"³³—as though urging the fiery spirit of the Prophet to condescend towards the penitent. "I will not bring the evil in his days."³⁴ Though after his pardon Achab was not to desist from his wickedness, the forgiving God forgives him, not that He was unaware of the future, but granting forgiveness in keeping with the current moment of repentance. For it belongs to the just judge to pass sentence consonant with each several deed.

(14) Again, Jeroboam stood sacrificing to idols upon the altar. When he gave the order for the arrest of the Prophet who censured him, his hand withered on the instant; but having learned by experience the power of the man before him, he says: "Entreat the Lord for me";³⁵ and because of these words his hand was again restored. If the Prophet healed Jeroboam, will not Christ be able to heal and free us from our sins? Manasses, too, was a heinous sinner. He cut asunder Isaia,³⁶ was defiled with all manner of idolatry, and filled Jerusalem with innocent blood. Led captive to Babylon, by experience of suffering he learned his lesson, and repenting drew healing from his affliction. For Scripture says: "Manasses was humbled before the Lord, and he prayed and the Lord heard him and brought him again into his kingdom."³⁷ If he who had sawn asunder the Prophet was saved, will you who have committed no such enormity not be saved? Take care that you do not, without reason, underrate the efficacy of repentance.

(15) Would you know the power of repentance? Would you understand this strong weapon of salvation and the might of confession? By confession Ezechia routed a hundred and

³³ 3 Kings 21.29.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Cf. 3 Kings 13.6.

³⁶ This is not stated in Scripture, but derived from Jewish tradition.

³⁷ Cf. 2 Par. 33.12, 13.

eighty-five thousand of the enemy.³⁸ That was important, but it was little compared to what shall be told. The same king's repentance won the repeal of the sentence God had passed on him. For when he was sick, Isaia said to him: "Give charge concerning thy house, for thou shalt die, and not live."³⁹ What expectation was left? What hope of recovery was there, when the Prophet said: "For thou shalt die"? But Ezechia did not cease from penitence, for he remembered what was written: "In the hour that you turn and lament, you shall be saved."⁴⁰ He turned his face to the wall, and from his bed of pain his mind soared up to heaven—for no wall is so thick as to stifle reverent prayer—"Lord," he said, "remember me."⁴¹ "For it is sufficient for my healing if You remember me. You are not subject to circumstances, but are Yourself the legislator of life. For not on birth and conjunction of stars, as some vainly say, does our life depend. No, You are the arbiter, according to Your will, of life and the duration of life." He whom the Prophet's sentence had forbidden to hope was granted fifteen further years of life, the sun turning back its course in witness thereof. Now while the sun retraced its course for Ezechia, for Christ it was eclipsed, the distinction marking the difference between the two, I mean Ezechia and Jesus. Now if even Ezechia could revoke God's decree, shall not Jesus grant the remission of sins? Turn and lament, shut your door, and beg for pardon, that God may remove from you the scorching flames. For confession has the power to quench even fire; it can tame even lions.

(16) If you doubt it, consider what happened to Anania and his companions. What streams did they pour out? How many measures of water were needed to quench a flame forty-nine cubits high? But wherever the fire threatened to overwhelm them, there their faith gushed rivers, as they repeated the words that worked like a charm: "You are just

38 Cf. 4 Kings 19.35.

39 4 Kings 20.1.

40 Cf. Isa. 30.15.

41 Cf. Isa. 38.2, 3; 4 Kings 20.2, 3.

in all you have done to us: for we have sinned and committed iniquity.”⁴² And their penitence subdued the flames. If you do not believe that penance can quench the fire of Gehenna, learn that from the story of Anania and his companions. But some keen listener will say: “In their case, God justly delivered them. Because they refused to commit idolatry, God gave them this power.” Since this objection has in fact been raised, I shall go to a different example of repentance.

(17) What think you of Nabuchodonosor? Have you not heard from Scripture that he was bloodthirsty, fierce, with the disposition of a lion? Have you not heard that he disinterred the kings?⁴³ Have you not heard that he brought the people away into captivity? Have you not heard that he put the king’s sons to the sword before his eyes and then blinded him?⁴⁴ Have you not heard that he shattered the Cherubim?⁴⁵ I do not mean the invisible Cherubim—it were blasphemy to think it—but the sculptured images, and the mercy-seat in the Holy of Holies, from the midst of which God was wont to speak with His voice. He trampled upon the veil of sanctification, he took the censer and carried it away to a temple of idols; he seized all the offerings; he burned the temple to its foundations. What punishment did he not deserve for slaying kings, for burning the holy objects, for reducing the people to captivity, for putting the sacred vessels in the temples of idols? Did he not deserve ten thousand deaths?

(18) You have seen the enormity of his crimes. Turn now to the loving-kindness of God. Nabuchodonosor was turned into a wild beast; he dwelt in the wilderness; God scourged him to save him. He had claws like a lion’s, for he had preyed upon the saints. He had a lion’s mane, for he had been a

⁴² Cf. Dan. 3.27, 29.

⁴³ Cf. Jer. 8.1; Bar. 2.24, 25.

⁴⁴ Cf. 4 Kings 25.7.

⁴⁵ Again an assumption on the part of Cyril.

ravening, roaring lion. He ate grass like an ox, for he had behaved like a brute beast, not knowing Him who had given him his kingdom. His body was drenched with dew, because, after seeing the fire quenched by the dew, he had not believed. And what happened? Afterwards he says: "I, Nabuchodonosor, raised my eyes to heaven, . . . and I blessed the Most High, and I praised and glorified him who lives forever."⁴⁶ When therefore he acknowledged the Most High, and uttered words of thanksgiving to God, and repented of his past wickedness, and recognized his own weakness, in that hour God restored to him his royal dignity.

(19) What then? If God granted pardon and a kingdom to Nabuchodonosor after such terrible crimes, when he had made confession, will He not grant you the remission of your sins if you repent, and the kingdom of heaven, if you live worthily? God is merciful and quick to forgiveness, but slow to vengeance. Therefore let no man despair of salvation. Peter, the chief and foremost of the Apostles, denied the Lord thrice before a little serving maid; but, moved to repentance, he wept bitterly. His weeping revealed his heartfelt repentance, and for that reason not only did he receive pardon for his denial, but retained his Apostolic prerogative.

(20) Therefore, brethren, having before you many examples of sinners who repented and were saved, be you also earnest in confessing to the Lord, that you may receive pardon for past sins, be made worthy of the heavenly gift, and inherit the kingdom of heaven with all the saints, in Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

46 Cf. Dan. 4.31.

CATECHESIS III

On Baptism

“Do you not know that all we who have been baptized into Christ Jesus have been baptized into his death? For we were buried with him by means of Baptism into death, [in order that, just as Christ has arisen from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life].”¹

(1) “Rejoice, O ye heavens, and let the earth be glad,”² in honor of those who are to be sprinkled with hyssop, and cleansed by the spiritual hyssop and by the power of Him who, in His Passion, was offered drink on a stalk of hyssop. Let the heavenly powers rejoice, and let the souls who are to be united with their spiritual Spouse prepare themselves. For there is “the voice of one crying in the desert: Make ready the way of the Lord.”³ For this is no slight matter, no ordinary or common fleshly union, but the election according to faith by the Spirit who “searches all things.”⁴ For worldly marriages and contracts are not always made with judgment, and the bridegroom is quickly swayed wherever there is wealth or beauty. But here there is concern not for beauty of body, but for the blameless conscience of soul; not for the accursed Mammon, but for the wealth of the soul in piety.

(2) Yield then, O children of justice, to the urging of John,

¹ Rom. 6.3, 4.

² Cf. Ps. 95.11; Isa. 49.13.

³ Cf. Isa. 40.3.

⁴ 1 Cor. 2.10.

when he says: "Make ready the way of the Lord."⁵ Remove all hindrances and stumbling blocks, that you may hold a straight course unto eternal life. Make ready the vessels of the soul, purifying them by sincere faith, for the receiving of the Holy Spirit. Begin to wash your garments through repentance that, when you are called to the bridal chamber, you may be found clean. For the Bridegroom invites all without distinction, for His grace is bountifully bestowed, and the cry of His loud-voiced heralds draws all together; but He Himself thereafter separates those who have come in.⁶ God forbid that any of those enrolled should now hear those words: "Friend, how didst thou come in here without a wedding garment?"⁷ Rather, may you all hear: "Well done, good and faithful servant; because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many: enter into the joy of thy master."⁸ Up to now you have stood outside the gate, but may all of you be able to say: "The king hath brought me into his storerooms";⁹ "Let my soul be joyful in the Lord: for he has clothed me with a garment of salvation and a robe of gladness; like a bridegroom he has adorned me with a diadem; like a bride, bedecked me with jewels."¹⁰ Thus may the souls of all of you be found "not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing."¹¹ I do not mean before you have received the grace (for how could that be true of you who are called for the remission of sins?) but that, the grace given, your conscience, being found blameless, may be suitable for grace.

(3) This is a truly serious matter, my brethren, and you must approach it with great care. Each of you is to stand before God, in the presence of myriads of the angelic host. The Holy Spirit is about to imprint a seal upon your souls.

⁵ John 1.23.

⁶ Cf. Matt. 22.9, 10.

⁷ Matt. 22.12.

⁸ Matt. 25.23.

⁹ Cf. Cant. 1.3.

¹⁰ Isa. 61.10 (Sept.).

¹¹ Eph. 5.27.

You are to be enlisted in the service of the Great King. Therefore prepare and equip yourselves, not by putting on shining white garments, but piety of soul with a good conscience. Regard not the laver as fresh water, but look to the spiritual grace given with the water. For just as the offerings on the pagan altars, though morally neutral in themselves, become defiled by the invocation of the idols, so contrariwise the plain water, after the invocation of Holy Spirit, and Christ, and Father, acquires a power of sanctification.

(4) For since man's nature is twofold, compounded of soul and body, the purification is also twofold, incorporeal for the incorporeal part, bodily for the body. For as the water purifies the body, so the Spirit seals the soul, that having our hearts sprinkled, and our bodies washed with clean water, we may draw near to God.¹² Therefore when about to enter the water, regard it not as mere water, but look for its saving power by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, for without both you cannot be made perfect. It is not I who say this, but the Lord Jesus, who has the power in this matter, says: "Unless a man be born again, of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."¹³ Neither does he who is baptized, but has not been deemed worthy of the Spirit, possess perfect grace; nor will a man who acts virtuously, but does not receive the seal by water, enter into the kingdom of heaven. This may appear a bold saying, but it is not mine, for it was Jesus who pronounced it. And here is the proof of the statement from inspired Scripture. Cornelius was a just man, deemed worthy of a vision of angels, a man who had set up his prayers and alms as a fair column in the heavens in the sight of God. Peter came, and the Spirit was poured out upon those that believed, and they spoke with divers tongues and they prophesied.¹⁴ And yet after the grace of the Spirit, Scripture says that Peter "ordered them to be

¹² Cf. Heb. 10.22.

¹³ John 3.5.

¹⁴ Cf. Acts 10.46.

baptized in the name of Jesus Christ,"¹⁵ that after the soul had been regenerated by faith, the body also, by means of the water, might share the grace.

(5) But if any man wishes to know why the grace is given through water instead of some other element, he will find the answer if he takes up the divine Scriptures. For water is a noble thing and the fairest of the four visible elements of the world. Heaven is the dwelling place of angels, but the heavens are from the waters. Earth is the home of men, and the earth is from the waters. And before the whole six days' formation of created things, "The spirit of God was stirring above the waters."¹⁶ With water the world began; the Jordan saw the beginning of the Gospels. The sea was the means of Israel's liberation from Pharaoh, and freedom for the world from sin comes through the laver of water in the Word of God.¹⁷ Wherever there is a covenant there also is water. After the deluge, a covenant was made with Noe; it was given from Mount Sinai, but "with water and scarlet wool and hyssop."¹⁸ Elias was taken up, but not without water; for first he crosses the Jordan, and only then mounts to heaven in a chariot. The high priest washes himself, then offers incense; for Aaron was first washed, then became high priest. For how could one who had not yet been cleansed by water pray for others? Further, the laver had been set within the tabernacle, as a symbol of baptism.

(6) Baptism marks the end of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New. For its author was John, than whom there was no one greater among those born of women.¹⁹ He marked the end of the Prophets: "For all the prophets and the Law were until John."²⁰ He likewise marks the beginning

¹⁵ Acts 10.48.

¹⁶ Gen. 1.2. The opening verses of Genesis seem to refer to water as prime matter. Water is mentioned in Scripture more often than the other three elements.

¹⁷ Cf. Eph. 5.26.

¹⁸ Heb. 9.19.

¹⁹ Cf. Matt. 11.11.

²⁰ Cf. Matt. 11.13; Luke 16.16.

of the things of the Gospel: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ," and what follows: "There came John in the desert, baptizing."²¹ You may mention Elias, who was taken up to heaven, but he is not greater than John. Enoch was transported, but he is not greater than John. Mightiest was Moses the lawgiver, and all the Prophets, but they are not greater than John. It is not I who venture to compare Prophets with Prophets, but their Master and ours who has declared: "Among those born of women, there has not risen a greater than John."²² He does not say, "among those born of virgins," but, "of women." The comparison is between the great servant and his fellow-servants; but the pre-eminence and the grace of the Son over the household is beyond compare. Do you see how great a man God chose to be the first minister of this grace? He was a man who possessed nothing, a lover of solitude, but no hater of mankind; who ate locusts, and fitted wings to his soul, satisfying his hunger with honey, and speaking words sweeter and more wholesome than honey; clad in a garment of camel's hair, and showing in himself the model of the ascetic life; who was sanctified by the Holy Spirit when still borne in his mother's womb. Jeremia also was sanctified, but he did not prophesy in the womb. Only John leaped for joy when still being carried in the womb.²³ Without seeing Him with the eyes of the body, he recognized his Master by the Spirit. For since the grace of Baptism was a great one, it called for greatness in its author.

(7) John was baptizing in the Jordan and there went out to him all Jerusalem, to have the benefit of the first-fruits of baptism;²⁴ for the prerogative of all good things is in Jerusalem. But notice, O people of Jerusalem, how those who went out were baptized by him "confessing their sins."²⁵ First they displayed their wounds; then he applied the remedies,

²¹ Mark 1.1, 4.

²² Matt. 11.11.

²³ Cf. Luke 1.44.

²⁴ Cf. Matt. 3.5.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 6.

and to those who believed he granted redemption from eternal fire. And if you wish a proof on this point, that the baptism of John was a redemption from the threat of fire, listen to his own words: "Brood of vipers, who has shown you to flee from the wrath to come?"²⁶ Be not, then, henceforth a viper, but though you were once of viper's brood, put off, he says, your former sinful nature. For every snake, retreating into a nook, puts off its age, and sloughing off its skin by constriction, henceforth is rejuvenated; so you, too, enter in through the narrow and straitened gate; constrain yourself by fasting, do violence to what threatens your destruction. "Strip off the old man with his deeds,"²⁷ and say in the words of the Canticles: "I have taken off my robe, how am I then to put it on?"²⁸

But perhaps there is some hypocrite among you, who seeks the favor of men and makes a pretense of piety, but does not believe from the heart, who with the hypocrisy of Simon Magus approaches not to share in the grace, but out of meddlesome curiosity concerning what is given. Let him listen to John: "For even now the ax is laid at the root of the trees. Every tree, therefore, that is not bringing forth good fruit is to be cut down, and thrown into the fire."²⁹ The Judge is inexorable, so cast aside your hypocrisy.

(8) What must be done, then, and what are the fruits of repentance? "Let him who has two tunics share with him who has none."³⁰ Now the teacher was one worthy of credence, since he had first put his teaching into practice; he was not ashamed to speak, for his tongue was not checked by a bad conscience. "And let him who has food do likewise."³¹ While aspiring to the grace of the Holy Spirit for yourself, will you deny bodily food to the poor? Do you seek great things, but share not the small?

²⁶ *Ibid.* 7.

²⁷ Col. 3.9.

²⁸ Cant. 3.5.

²⁹ Matt. 3.10.

³⁰ Luke 3.11.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Though you be a publican or fornicator, yet hope for salvation. "The publicans and harlots are entering the kingdom of God before you."³² Paul testifies to this when he says: "Neither fornicators nor idolaters," nor the rest, "will possess the kingdom of God. And such were some of you, but you have been washed, and you have been sanctified."³³ He did not say, some of you "are," but some of you "were." The sin committed in ignorance is pardoned, but persistent wickedness is condemned.

(9) You have for the glorification of baptism the Only-begotten Son of God Himself. Why should I speak any further of man? John was great, but what was he compared to the Lord? Loud was his voice, but what compared with the Word? Noble was the herald, but what was he to the King? Glorious was he who baptized with water, but what in comparison to Him who baptizes "with the Holy Spirit and with fire"?³⁴ The Savior baptized with the Holy Spirit and with fire when: "suddenly there was a sound from heaven as of a violent wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared to them parted tongues as of fire, which settled upon each of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit."³⁵

(10) If a man does not receive baptism he does not attain salvation, excepting only the martyrs, who, even without the water, receive the kingdom. For the Savior who redeemed the world by the Cross, when His side was pierced, poured forth blood and water, that in time of peace men might be baptized in water, but in time of persecution in their own blood. For the Savior could call martyrdom a baptism, saying: "Can you drink the cup of which I drink or be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?"³⁶ For the martyrs, indeed, make their confession of faith, when "made a spectacle

³² Matt. 21.31.

³³ 1 Cor. 6.9-11.

³⁴ Matt. 3.11.

³⁵ Acts 2.2-4.

³⁶ Mark 10.38.

to the world, and to angels, and to men.”³⁷ In a little while you too shall make your confession. But it is not yet time for you to hear about this.

(11) Jesus sanctified baptism when He Himself was baptized. If the Son of God was baptized, can anyone who scorns baptism pretend to piety? Not that He was baptized to receive the remission of sins—for He was without sin—but being sinless, He was nevertheless baptized, that He might impart grace and dignity to those who receive the sacrament. For, “since the children share in flesh and blood, so he in like manner has shared in these,”³⁸ that we, sharing His incarnate life, might also share His divine grace. So Jesus was baptized that we, in turn, herein also made partakers with Him, might receive not only salvation, but also the dignity. The dragon, according to Job, was in the water, he who received the Jordan in his maw.³⁹ When, therefore, it was necessary to crush the heads of the dragon,⁴⁰ descending into the water, He bound the strong one, that we might receive the “power to tread upon serpents and scorpions.”⁴¹ It was no ordinary beast, but a horrible monster. No fishing ship could last under a single scale of his tail; before him stalked Destruction, ravaging all in her path.⁴² But Life came running up, that the maw of Death might be stopped and all we who were saved might say: “O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?”⁴³ Baptism draws death’s sting.

(12) For you go down into the water bearing your sins, but the invocation of grace, placing a seal upon your soul, makes you proof against the dragon’s maw. Though dead in sin when you went down, you will come up vivified in justice. For, if you have been planted together in the likeness of the death of the Savior, you shall be counted worthy of His

³⁷ 1 Cor. 4.9.

³⁸ Heb. 2.14.

³⁹ Cf. Job 40.18.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ps. 73.14.

⁴¹ Luke 10.19.

⁴² Cf. Job 40.26 and 41.13 (Sept.).

⁴³ Cf. 1 Cor. 15.55.

Resurrection also.⁴⁴ For just as Jesus died, taking upon Himself the sins of the whole world, that by slaying sin He might rise again in righteousness, so you, also, after entering and being as it were buried in the water, as He was in the rock, are raised up again to walk in newness of life.

(13) Then, after you have been vouchsafed the grace, He gives you the strength to struggle with the enemy powers. For just as He was tried for forty days after His baptism—not that He was unable to conquer sooner, but because He wished to accomplish all things in due order and sequence—so do you also, who before your baptism dared not close with your adversaries, from the moment of receiving the grace, trust henceforth in the armor of justice,⁴⁵ do battle, and, if you will, preach the Gospel.

(14) Jesus Christ was the Son of God, but before His baptism He did not preach the Gospel. If the Master Himself in all things observed order and due season, can we, His servants, presume to disregard right order? Jesus began to preach from the time when “the Holy Spirit descended upon him in bodily form as a dove.”⁴⁶ (This was not to permit Jesus to see Him for the first time—for He knew Him even before He came in bodily form—but that John the Baptist might see Him; for he said: “I did not know him. But he who sent me to baptize with water said to me, ‘He upon whom thou wilt see the Spirit descending, he it is.’”⁴⁷) Upon you also, if you possess sincere piety, the Holy Spirit will descend, and from above will be heard over you the voice of the Father, saying not: “This is my Son,”⁴⁸ but, “This has now become My son.” For to Christ alone belongs the “is,” since, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and the Word was God.”⁴⁹ To Him belongs the word

⁴⁴ Cf. Rom. 6.5.

⁴⁵ Cf. 2 Cor. 6.7.

⁴⁶ Luke 3.22.

⁴⁷ John 1.33.

⁴⁸ Matt. 3.17.

⁴⁹ John 1.1.

“is,” since He is at all times the Son of God. To you belongs “has now become,” since you do not possess the sonship by nature, but receive it by adoption. He is Son eternally, but you receive that grace by advancement.

(15) Therefore, prepare the vessel of your soul, that you may become a son of God, and joint heir, indeed, of God, and joint heir with Christ.⁵⁰ That is, if you are preparing actually to receive; if in faith you are coming forward to be confirmed in faith; if of set purpose you are putting off the old man. For all your sins will be forgiven, whether fornication or adultery or any other licentiousness. What sin is greater than crucifying Christ? But baptism can expiate even this, as Peter told the three thousand who had crucified Christ when they came to him and asked him, saying: “Brethren, what shall we do?”⁵¹ For great is our wound. You advised us of our fall, O Peter, when you said: “The author of life you killed.”⁵² What salve is there for so great a wound? What purification for such foulness? What salvation for such perdition? “Repent,” he says, “and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.”⁵³ O the ineffable loving-kindness of God! They despair of salvation and yet are deemed worthy of the Holy Spirit. There you see the power of baptism. If any man has crucified Christ by blasphemous words, if any man in ignorance has denied Him before men, if any man by wicked deeds has caused His doctrine to be blasphemed, let him repent and be of good hope. For the same grace is even now at hand.

(16) Take heart, O Jerusalem, the Lord will take away your iniquities.⁵⁴ The Lord will wash away the filth of His sons and daughters by the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning.⁵⁵ He will pour upon you clean water and you

⁵⁰ Cf. Rom. 8.17.

⁵¹ Acts 2.37.

⁵² Acts 3.15.

⁵³ Acts 2.38.

⁵⁴ Cf. Soph. 3.14, 15.

⁵⁵ Cf. Isa. 4.4.

shall be cleansed from all your sins.⁵⁶ Choring angels shall encircle you, chanting: Who is it that comes up all white and leaning upon her beloved?⁵⁷ For the soul that was formerly a slave has now accounted her Lord as her kinsman, and He, acknowledging her sincere purpose, will answer: "Ah, you are beautiful my beloved, ah, you are beautiful . . . Your teeth are like a flock of ewes to be shorn"⁵⁸—a sincere confession is a spiritual shearing; and further: "all of them big with twins,"⁵⁹ signifying the twofold grace, either that perfected by water and the Spirit, or that announced in the Old and in the New Testament.⁶⁰ God grant that all of you, your course of fasting finished, mindful of the teaching, fruitful in good works, standing blameless before the spiritual Bridegroom, may obtain the remission of your sins from God, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

⁵⁶ Cf. Ezech. 36.25.

⁵⁷ Cf. Cant. 8.5.

⁵⁸ Cant. 4.1, 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Cyril takes every opportunity to stress the agreement of the Old and the New covenants, in opposition to the heretics, particularly Marcion.

CATECHESIS IV

On the Ten Doctrines

“See to it that no man deceive you by philosophy and vain deceit, according to human tradition, according to the elements of the world [and not according to Christ].”¹

(1) Vice mimics virtue and cockle works to pass for wheat, which it resembles, though a discriminating palate is not thereby deceived. So the devil “disguises himself as an angel of light,”² not to mount up again where he was before (with a heart as inflexible as an anvil, his will is forever impenitent), but to envelop in blinding mist and the poisonous air of scepticism those leading an angelic life. Many a wolf goes about in sheep’s clothing;³ their fleece is that of sheep, not so their claws and fangs. Clad in the gentle wool, and beguiling the innocent by their appearance, they pour forth from their fangs the deadly poison of impiety. We have need therefore of divine grace, and a sober mind, and eyes that see clearly, lest, eating cockle for wheat, we take hurt out of our ignorance; or, mistaking the wolf for a sheep, we become his prey, or, supposing the baleful devil to be a good angel, we shall be devoured. For, “as a roaring lion, he goes about seeking whom he may devour,” as Scripture says.⁴ This is the reason for the Church’s admonitions; this is the reason for the present instructions and for the lessons that are read.

(2) True religion consists of these two elements: pious doc-

¹ Col. 2.8.

² 2 Cor. 11.14.

³ Matt. 7.15.

⁴ Cf. 1 Peter 5.8.

trines and virtuous actions. Neither does God accept doctrines apart from good works, nor are works, when divorced from godly doctrine, accepted by God. What does it profit a man to be an expert theologian if he is a shameless fornicator; or to be nobly temperate, but an impious blasphemer? The knowledge of doctrines is a precious possession; there is need of a vigilant soul, since many there are who would deceive you by philosophy and vain deceit.⁵ The Greeks, indeed, by their smooth tongue lead men astray, for honey drops from the lips of a harlot.⁶ Those of the Circumcision deceive their disciples by the divine Scripture, which they twist by false interpretations, though they study them from childhood to old age and grow old in ignorance. The children of heretics "by smooth words and flattery deceive the hearts of the simple,"⁷ disguising with the honey of Christ's name the poisoned shafts of their impious doctrines. Concerning all these alike the Lord says: "Take care that no one lead you astray."⁸ This is the reason for the teaching of the Faith, and for the expositions of it.

(3) Before delivering to you the Creed, I think it well at this time to present a short compendium of the necessary doctrines, that the multitude of things to be said, and the intervening period of the entire season of holy Lent may not cause forgetfulness in the minds of the more simple among you, but that scattering seeds of doctrines now in summary fashion, we may not forget the same when they are more widely tilled later. But let those present who are of more mature understanding and "have their faculties trained to discern good and evil,"⁹ be patient as they listen to an introductory course suited to children, milk for sucklings. In this way, those who need catechetical instruction will profit and

5 Cf. Col. 2.8.

6 Cf. Prov. 5.3.

7 Rom. 16.18.

8 Matt. 24.4.

9 Heb. 5.14.

those who have the knowledge will revive the memory of what they already know.

Of God

(4) First, then, let there be laid as a firm foundation in your souls the doctrine concerning God: That God is One alone, unbegotten, without beginning, immutable, unchangeable; neither begotten by another, nor having any successor to His life; who neither began to live in time, nor shall ever have an end. He is both good and just, and so if ever you hear a heretic saying that the just God is one and the good God another, you may at once be warned and recognize the poisoned shaft of heresy. For some have impiously dared to divide the One God in their teaching; and some have said that the Creator and Master of the soul was one, and that of the body another—a doctrine at once absurd and impious.¹⁰ For how could the same man be the servant of two masters, when the Lord says in the Gospel: “No man can serve two masters”?¹¹ There is, then, One God alone, the Maker of souls and bodies; there is One, the Creator of heaven and earth, the Maker of angels and archangels, who is the Creator of many things, but the Father of One only before all ages, of One only, His Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom He made all things visible and invisible.

(5) This Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is not circumscribed in any place nor is He less than the heavens; but the heavens are the works of His fingers,¹² and the whole earth is held in His palm.¹³ He is in all things and about all. Consider not that He is less than the sun or equal to it, for He who fashioned the sun ought Himself, first, be far more sur-

¹⁰ The heresies referred to seem to be those of Marcion and Mani. Cf. *Cat.* 6.16-32.

¹¹ Matt. 6.24.

¹² Cf. Ps. 8.4.

¹³ Cf. Isa. 40.12.

passing, greater and brighter. He foreknows all future things and is mightier than all. He knows all things and does as He wills, not being subject to any sequence of events or nativity or chance or fate, perfect in all things and possessing in equal measure every form of virtue. He neither diminishes nor increases, but is ever and in every way the same; who has prepared chastisement for sinners and a crown for the just.

(6) Since, then, many have gone astray in divers ways from the One God—and some have deified the sun (so that after sunset, for the space of the night, they are godless); others, the moon, so they have no God during the day; still others, the other parts of the world; some have deified the arts, others food, others pleasures; and some, mad after women, have set up on high the image of a naked woman and, calling it Aphrodite, have bowed down before their passions in visible form. Others, again, dazzled by the splendor of gold, have deified that, and other substances as well. If a man first fixes as a foundation in his heart the doctrine of the One God and firmly believes it, he cuts away at once all the corruption of the evils of idolatry and of the error of the heretics. By faith, therefore, lay as a foundation in your soul this first doctrine of religion.

Of Christ

(7) Believe also in the One and Only Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, begotten God of God, begotten Life of Life, begotten Light of Light, like in all things to Him who begot Him; who received not His being in time, but before all ages was eternally and incomprehensibly begotten of the Father; who is the Wisdom and Power of God and co-essential Justice; who before all ages sits at the right hand of the Father. For it was not, as some have held, after His Passion, as though crowned by God for His patient suffering, that He received the throne on God's right hand, but for as long as He has existed—and He is begotten eternally—He has the

kingly dignity, sitting together with the Father, since He is God, and Wisdom and Power, as has been said; reigning together with the Father, and Creator of all things through the Father; lacking nothing for the dignity of Godhead, and knowing Him who begot Him, as He is known by Him.¹⁴ To speak briefly, remember what is written in the Gospels: "No one knows the Son except the Father; nor does anyone know the Father except the Son."¹⁵

(8) Do not separate the Son from the Father,¹⁶ nor yet by blending them, believe in the Son-Fatherhood, but believe that of One God there is one Only-begotten Son, who is before all the ages God the Word; the Word, not uttered externally and dispersed into the air, nor like words without substance, but the Word, the Son, the Maker of intelligible beings, the Word who listens to the Father and who speaks Himself. And on these points, if God grant it, we will speak more fully at the proper time, for we do not forget our purpose, to give at present only a summary introduction to the Faith.

His Virgin Birth

(9) Believe, too, that this Only-begotten Son of God came down from heaven to earth for our sins, taking on this passible human nature of ours, and being born of the holy Virgin and the Holy Spirit, His incarnation taking place, not in appearance or fantasy but in truth. He did not pass through the Virgin as through a channel,¹⁷ but was truly made flesh from her, and truly nourished with her milk. For, if the Incarnation was a fantasy, salvation is also a fantasy. Christ was twofold in nature: man in what was seen, but God

¹⁴ Cyril several times refers to the heretical view that Christ was advanced in honor in time, a view held among others by Paul of Samosata (3rd cent.).

¹⁵ Matt. 11.27.

¹⁶ Sabellius is the most prominent of the heretics holding the views expressed here.

¹⁷ The virgin as channel—a doctrine held by the Valentinian heretics.

in what was not seen. As man He ate truly as we do—for He had like feelings of the flesh with us—but as God, He fed the five thousands from five loaves. He died truly as man, but raised him who was four days dead, as God. He truly slept in the ship as man, and walked upon the waters as God.

His Cross

(10) He was truly crucified for our sins. And should you wish to deny this, the visible place itself, this blessed Golgotha,¹⁸ refutes you, where, in the name of Him who was here crucified, we are gathered together. Besides, the whole world has now been filled with pieces of the wood of the Cross. He was crucified not for His own sins, but that we might be freed from ours. He was despised and buffeted by men at that time as man, but was acknowledged as God by creation. For the sun, seeing its Master dishonored, was darkened and trembled, not enduring the sight.

His Burial

(11) He was truly laid as man in a rock tomb, but the rocks were rent for fear because of Him. He descended to the regions beneath the earth, that thence also He might redeem the just.¹⁹ For tell me, would you wish the living to enjoy His grace, and that too when most of them are unholy, and have those who from Adam on had been long imprisoned not at length obtain deliverance? The Prophet Isaia heralded with loud voice so many things concerning Him; would you not wish the King to descend and deliver His herald? David was there, and Samuel, and all the prophets, and John himself, who said by his messengers: "Art thou he who is to

¹⁸ Here and elsewhere Cyril implies that the lectures were given on the actual site of the crucifixion.

¹⁹ The descent into Limbo was not in the Jerusalem creed.

come, or shall we look for another?"²⁰ Would you not wish Him to descend and deliver such men?

His Resurrection

(12) He who descended to the regions beneath the earth ascended again, and the Jesus who was buried rose again truly on the third day. And if the Jews ever trouble you, meet them at once by thus questioning them: Can it be that Jona came forth from the whale after three days and Christ had not risen from the earth on the third day? If a dead man, by touching the bones of Eliseus, was raised to life, will not the Maker of men be raised far more easily by the power of the Father? He did, then, truly rise, and after He had risen, was seen again by His disciples; and the twelve disciples were witnesses of His resurrection, testifying, not with words meant to please, but contending for the truth of the resurrection even unto torture and death. Further: "On the word of two or three witnesses every word may be confirmed," according to Scripture.²¹ There are twelve witnesses to the resurrection of Christ, and do you still disbelieve in the resurrection?

His Ascension

(13) When Jesus had completed the course of His patient endurance and had redeemed men from their sins, He ascended again into heaven, a cloud taking Him up; and angels stood by as He ascended and Apostles looked on. But if any man doubt what we say, let him believe the power of the things seen now. All kings, when they die, lose, along with their life, their power. But Christ, though He was crucified, is worshiped by the whole world. We proclaim the

²⁰ Matt. 11.3.

²¹ Matt. 18.16.

Crucified and the demons tremble; many at divers times have been crucified, but has the invocation of any other ever put the demons to flight?

(14) Let us not be ashamed of the Cross of Christ. But even though another hide it, do you seal it openly on your brow, that the demons, seeing the royal sign, may tremble and flee far away. Make this sign when eating and drinking, when sitting, lying down, rising, speaking, or walking; in a word, on every occasion. For He who was here crucified is in heaven above. For if, when He had been crucified and buried, He had remained in the tomb, we should perhaps have cause for shame, but He who was crucified here on Golgotha ascended into heaven from the Mount of Olives on the east. For having gone down hence into the nether world, and returned to us again, He ascended again from us into heaven, His Father addressing Him and saying: "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool."²²

Of Judgment to Come

(15) This Jesus Christ who ascended will come again from heaven, not from the earth. And I have said, "not from the earth," because many Antichrists at this time are to come from the earth. For already, as you have seen, many have begun to say: "I am the Christ,"²³ and afterwards there is to come "the abomination of desolation,"²⁴ assuming for himself the false title of Christ. But do you look for the true Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, coming henceforth no more from the earth, but from heaven, appearing to all as lightning and splendor of light above all, attended by a guard of angels, that He may judge the living and the dead, reigning over a kingdom, heavenly, eternal, and without end.

²² Ps. 109.1.

²³ Matt. 24.5.

²⁴ Matt. 24.15.

For on this point also, make yourself sure, I pray you, since there are many who say there is an end to Christ's kingdom.

*Of the Holy Spirit*²⁵

(16) Believe also in the Holy Spirit and cherish the right knowledge concerning Him; since there are many strangers to the Holy Spirit and they teach blasphemous things about Him. Learn then that this Holy Spirit is one and indivisible, His powers manifold; various as are the effects He produces, He is not Himself divided. He knows the mysteries, and "searches all things, even the deep things of God."²⁶ It is He who descended upon the Lord Jesus Christ in the form of a dove, who wrought in the Law and the Prophets, yes, who even now, at the time of baptism, puts a seal upon your soul; of His holiness every intellectual nature stands in need. If any man dare to blaspheme against Him, "It will not be forgiven him, either in this world or in the world to come";²⁷ who is ranked in honor of dignity with Father and Son; of whom also Thrones, Dominationes, Principalities, and Powers have need. For there is one God, the Father of Christ, and One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of the One God, and One Holy Spirit who sanctifies and defies all, who spoke in the Law and the Prophets, both in the Old and the New Testaments.

(17) Keep this seal in mind at all times. I have spoken of it summarily, touching the main points, but if the Lord grant, I shall discuss it more fully later, to the best of my power, with proof from the Scriptures. For in regard to the divine and holy mysteries of the faith, not even a casual statement should be delivered without the Scriptures, and we must not be drawn aside merely by probabilities and artificial argu-

²⁵ Cyril alludes in the first sentence to a heresy making the Holy Spirit a mere creature. He deals at great length with the Holy Spirit in *Cat.* 16-17.

²⁶ 1 Cor. 2.10.

²⁷ Matt. 12.32.

ments. Do not believe even me merely because I tell you these things, unless you receive from the inspired Scriptures the proof of the assertions. For this saving faith of ours depends not on ingenious reasonings but on proof from the inspired Scriptures.

Of the Soul

(18) After the knowledge of this august and glorious and all-holy faith, next know yourself for what you are, that you are a man, twofold in nature, composed of soul and body, and that, as was said a short time ago, the same God is the creator of the soul and the body. Know also that this soul of yours is free, self-determining, the fairest work of God, made according to the image of its Creator, immortal because of God who makes it immortal, a living being, rational, imperishable, because of Him who has conferred these gifts; having power to do as it will. For it is not according to your nativity that you sin, nor is it according to fortune that you fornicate, nor, as some foolishly say, do the conjunctions of the stars compel you to cleave to wantonness. Why, to avoid confessing your own evil deeds, do you ascribe the blame to the guiltless stars? Pay no attention henceforth to astrologers, for concerning them Holy Scripture says: "Let the astrologers stand forth to save you";²⁸ and further on: "Behold they all shall be consumed by fire as stubble and they shall not deliver their soul from flame."²⁹

(19) Learn this also, that before the soul comes into the world, it has committed no sin; but though we came into the world sinless, we now of our own choice commit sin. Listen not, I pray you, to anyone who gives a perverse interpretation of the words: "If I do what I do not wish,"³⁰ but remember Him who says: "If you are willing, and obey,

²⁸ Isa. 47.13.

²⁹ Cf. Isa. 47.14 (Sept.).

³⁰ Rom. 7.16.

you shall eat the good things of the land; but if you refuse and resist, the sword shall consume you";³¹ and again: "As you have yielded your members as slaves of uncleanness and iniquity unto iniquity, so now yield your members as slaves of justice, unto sanctification."³² Remember also the Scripture which says: "As they have resolved against possessing the knowledge of God";³³ and: "Seeing that what may be known about God is manifest to them";³⁴ and again: "Their eyes they have closed."³⁵ Remember also how God again accuses them and says: "I had planted you, a choice vine of fully tested stock; how could you turn out obnoxious to me, a spurious vine?"³⁶

(20) The soul is immortal, and all souls are alike, both of men and women; only their bodily members are differentiated. There is not a class of souls sinning by nature and a class of souls acting justly by nature. But both act from choice, since the substance of souls is of one kind and alike in all. I realize that I am talking at length and much time has already elapsed; but what is to be put above salvation? Are you unwilling to take the trouble to receive provision for the way against the heretics? Are you unwilling to learn the turnings of the road, to avoid falling down the precipice through ignorance? If your teachers count it no little gain for you to learn these things, ought not you, the learner, gladly receive the multitude of the things that are told you?

(21) The soul possesses freedom; and though the devil can make suggestions, he has not the power to compel against the will. He brings to your mind the thought of fornication; if you will, you accept it; if you will not, you do not accept it. For, if you committed fornication by necessity, then why did God prepare Gehenna? If you acted justly by nature and

³¹ Isa. 1.19, 20.

³² Rom. 6.19.

³³ Rom. 1.28.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 19.

³⁵ Matt. 13.15.

³⁶ Jer. 2.21.

not by choice, why did God prepare ineffable crowns? The sheep is meek, but it has never been crowned for its meekness; for its meekness comes not from choice but from nature.

Of the Body

(22) You have been taught, beloved, the lore of the soul, as far as time allows at present. Now receive as best you can the doctrine concerning the body also. Let no one tell you that this body of ours is a stranger to God; for those who believe that the body is something alien readily abuse it to fornication. Yet what is it that they complain of in this wonderful body?³⁷ For what does it lack in comeliness? What is there in its structure that is not wrought skilfully? Ought they not to have considered the brilliant conformation of the eyes? And how the ears are set obliquely to receive the sound without hindrance? And how the sense of smell can distinguish and perceive odorous exhalations? And how the tongue ministers to two things, the sense of taste and the power of speech? And how the lungs, placed out of sight, are equipped for the unceasing respiration of air? Who gave the heart its incessant beating? Who made the division into so many veins and arteries? Who interwove the bones with the sinews so skilfully? Who assigned a part of our food for our substance, and separated a part for seemly excretion, and hid our uncomely members in more fitting places? Who, when the human race was likely to fail, made it perpetual by a simple conjunction?

(23) Tell me not that the body is the cause of sin; for, if the body is the cause of sin, how is it that a corpse does not sin? Put a sword in the right hand of one just dead and no murder takes place. Let beauties of all kinds pass before a young man just dead and no desire of fornication arises.

³⁷ The marvelous composition of the body was a commonplace argument for its creation by God.

Why? Because the body of itself does not sin, but the soul through the body. The body is the soul's instrument, its cloak and garment. If then it is given up to fornication by the soul, it becomes unclean; but if it dwells with a holy soul, it becomes a temple of the Holy Spirit. It is not I who say these things, no, it is the Apostle Paul who has said: "Do you not know that your members are the temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you?"³⁸ Defile not, then, your flesh in fornication; stain not your fairest garment. But if you have stained it, now cleanse it by repentance; for it is the time for purification.

(24) Let this doctrine of chastity be heeded above all by the order of solitaries and virgins, who are establishing in the world an angelic mode of life, and after them, by the rest of the people of the Church. A great crown is laid up for you, brethren; barter not a great dignity for a petty pleasure. Listen to the Apostle saying: "Lest there be any immoral, or profane person, such as Esau, who for one meal sold his birth-right."³⁹ Once enrolled in the angelic books for your profession of chastity, take care that you are not blotted out thereafter for practicing fornication.

(25) Again, because you practice chastity, do not be puffed up with conceit against those who live in the humbler state of matrimony. "For let marriage be held in honor, and let the marriage bed be undefiled,"⁴⁰ as the Apostle says. For have not you who keep your purity been born of married persons? Do not, therefore, because you possess gold, condemn the silver. But let those be of good cheer also, who, being married, use marriage rightfully; who order their marriage according to law, not making it wanton by uncontrolled license; who recognize times of abstinence, that they may give themselves to prayer; who, at the assemblies, bring into the Church clean bodies as well as clean garments; who have entered into

³⁸ 1 Cor. 6.19.

³⁹ Heb. 12.16.

⁴⁰ Heb. 13.4.

marriage for the sake of begetting children, not for self-indulgence.

(26) Let not those who have been married only once⁴¹ find fault with those who have indulged in a second marriage. For, while continence is a noble and admirable thing, it is also allowable to enter upon a second marriage, that the weak may not commit fornication. For, "it is good for them if they so remain, even as I," says the Apostle. "But if they do not have self-control, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to burn."⁴² But let all other things be put far away, fornication, adultery, and every kind of licentiousness; and let the body be kept pure for the Lord, that the Lord also may respect the body.

(27) Let the body eat to live and be a ready servant; not, however, that it may be given up to luxuries. Concerning food, let these be your ordinances, since with regard to meats many also stumble. For some, without discrimination, partake of the things offered to idols; others, while they practice an ascetic life, condemn those who eat; and so, in various ways, the soul of some is defiled in the question of meats, out of ignorance of the useful reasons for eating or abstaining. For we fast by abstaining from wine and flesh, not because we abhor them as abominations, but because we expect the reward, that by scorning sensible things, we may enjoy a spiritual and invisible table, and that, though we now "sow in tears, we shall reap rejoicing"⁴³ in the world to come. Do not despise, then, those who eat and take food because of bodily weakness. Do not censure those who "use a little wine for their stomach's sake, and frequent infirmities."⁴⁴ And do not condemn them as sinners. Do not abhor flesh meats as something strange; for the Apostle knows some

41 Apparently there was considerable prejudice against a second marriage in the early church. It was very strong among the puritan sects like the Montanists.

42 1 Cor. 7.8, 9.

43 Cf. Ps. 125.5.

44 Cf. 1 Tim. 5.23.

such men when he says: "They will forbid marriage, and will enjoin abstinence from foods which God has created to be partaken of with thanksgiving by the faithful."⁴⁵ When you abstain from these things, do not, then, abstain from them as though they were abominable, else you receive no reward. Rather, while recognizing that they are good, yet prefer the better, spiritual things set before you.

(28) Safeguard your soul, never eating of the things offered to idols. For, in regard to the meats, not only I, at this time, but before now, the Apostle also, and James, once the Bishop of this Church, have shown concern. For the Apostles and the ancients wrote a Catholic epistle to all the Gentiles that they should abstain first of all from things sacrificed to idols, and then from blood and things strangled. For many men, being of savage nature and living like dogs, lap up the blood after the manner of the fiercest wild beasts, and eat their fill unsparingly of things strangled. But do you, the servant of Christ, see to it that when you eat you eat with reverence. But of meats enough.

Apparel

(29) Let your dress be plain, not serving for adornment, but for necessary covering. The purpose of clothes is not to minister to your vanity, but to keep warm in winter and cover your nakedness. Take care lest, under pretense of hiding your unseemliness, by your extravagant apparel, you fall into another sort of unseemliness.

Of the Resurrection

(30) Treat this body with care, I pray you, and understand that with this body you will rise from the dead to be judged. But, if any thought of doubt should steal into your

⁴⁵ 1 Tim. 4.3.

mind, as though the thing were impossible, judge the things unseen from your own experience. For tell me—just think where you were, you, yourself, a hundred or more years ago. From what an extremely small and mean substance have you come to such magnitude of stature and to such dignity of form! Cannot He, who brought what was not into being, raise up again that already in existence which has decayed? Will He, who raises up the corn for us when it dies, year by year, have difficulty in raising up us, for whose sake the corn has been raised? You see how the trees have stood now for so many months without fruit or foliage. But with the passing of winter they return wholly to life again, as though from the dead. Shall not we much more and far more easily live again? The rod of Moses, by the will of God, was transformed into the quite dissimilar nature of a serpent; and shall not man, who has fallen into death, be restored anew?

(31) Attend not to those who say that this body does not rise; for rise it does. Isaia is a witness of this when he says: "The dead shall rise, and those in the tombs shall be raised";⁴⁶ and according to Daniel: "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some unto life everlasting and some unto shame everlasting."⁴⁷ Now, while the resurrection is common to all men, it will not be alike for all; for we shall all, indeed, receive everlasting bodies, but not all like bodies. For the just receive them that through eternity they may join the chorus of angels, but the sinners that they may endure the torment due to their sins forever.

(32) For this reason, the Lord, beforehand in His loving-kindness, has granted us the repentance of the laver of baptism, that, by casting off the chief, nay, rather the whole burden of our sins, and receiving the seal of the Holy Spirit, we may be made heirs of eternal life. But since we have already spoken sufficiently of the laver of baptism, let us proceed to the remaining topics of our introductory teachings.

⁴⁶ Isa. 26.19 (Sept.).

⁴⁷ Cf. Dan. 12.2 (Sept.).

Of the Holy Scriptures

(33) The teaching you have heard is that of the divinely-inspired Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament. For there is One God of the two Testaments, who foretold in the Old Testament the Christ who appeared in the New, and who, through the preparatory school of the Law and the Prophets, led us to Christ. For "before the faith came, we were guarded under the Law";⁴⁸ and, "the Law trained us for Christ's school."⁴⁹ And so, if ever you hear any heretic blaspheming the Law or the Prophets, quote that saving word against him: Jesus came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it.⁵⁰ Be eager to learn, and from the Church, what are the books of the Old Testament, what of the New; and I pray you, read none of the apocryphal books. For why should you, when you do not know the books acknowledged by all, trouble yourself needlessly with those whose authenticity is disputed? Read the divine Scriptures, these twenty-two books of the Old Testament translated by the seventy-two interpreters.⁵¹

(34) When Alexander, king of Macedon, died, his empire was divided into four kingdoms, Babylon and Macedon, Asia and Egypt. One of the Egyptian dynasty, Ptolemy Philadelphus, a great lover of learning, when he became king and was collecting books from every quarter, heard from Demetrius of Phalerum, the curator of his library, of the divine Scriptures of the Law and the Prophets. He judged it far better not to get the books by force from unwilling persons, but rather to win over the possessors with gifts and friendship, since he knew that what is forced from men, because it is given against their will, is often adulterated, while that which is freely offered is given with all sincerity. When he had

48 Gal. 2.23.

49 *Ibid.* 24.

50 Cf. Matt. 5.17.

51 The reference is to the Septuagint. In chapter 34 Cyril tells the popular legend of its origin.

sent to Eleazar, the High Priest at that time, very many gifts for the temple here at Jerusalem, he had six men out of each of the twelve tribes of Israel dispatched to him for the work of translation. Then, to prove whether the books were divine or not, and to prevent collusion by the members of the mission, he assigned to each of the interpreters a separate dwelling in the place called Pharos, lying near Alexandria, and committed to each all the Scriptures to translate. When they had completed their task in seventy-two days, the king compared all their translations, which they had made in separate cells without communicating with one another, and found that they exactly agreed, not only in sense, but even in words. For the process did not admit of a naturalistic explanation, nor was it any contrivance of human ingenuity; no, but the translation of the divine Scriptures, spoken by the Holy Spirit, was completed by the Holy Spirit.

(35) Of these, read the twenty-two books, and have nothing to do with the apocryphal writings. Study earnestly only those books which we read openly in Church. For far wiser and more devout than yourself were the Apostles and the ancient bishops, the rulers of the Church, who handed down these books. Therefore, since you are a child of the Church, do not transgress her ordinances. Of the Old Testament, then, as it has been said, study these twenty-two books and, if you are eager to learn, strive to fix them by name in your memory as I enumerate them. For of the Law the books of Moses are the first five, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; then Josue, the son of Nun, and the book of Judges, which, along with Ruth, is numbered the seventh. Of the remaining historical books, the first and second books of Kings are among the Hebrews one book, and the third and fourth one book. Likewise, the first and second books of Paralipomenon make one book, and the first and second books of Esdras are reckoned as one. The book of Esther is the twelfth; and these are the historical books. The books written in verse are five, Job, the book of Psalms, Proverbs, Eccle-

siastes, and the Canticle of Canticles, which is the seventeenth book. There follow the five prophetic books: the one book of the twelve prophets, of Isaia one, of Jeremia with Baruch, the Lamentations and the Epistle one; the Ezechiel, and the book of Daniel, the twenty-second of the Old Testament.

(36) Of the New Testament, there are only four gospels; for the rest are not genuine and are harmful. The Manichaeans also wrote a "Gospel according to Thomas," which, through the spurious odor of sanctity conferred by its title, corrupts simple folk. Receive also the Acts of the Twelve Apostles; and in addition to these, the seven Catholic Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude; then, as a seal upon all of them, and the last work of the disciples, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul.⁵² But let all the rest be put in the second rank; and whatever books are not read in the churches read not by yourself, in accordance with what you have been told. Thus far concerning these matters.

(37) Flee every diabolical influence⁵³ and hearken not to the apostate Serpent, who of his own deliberate choice was transformed from a good nature; who can persuade the willing, but can force no one. Attend not to the fabulous divinations of the Greeks. As for sorcery, incantation, and the wicked practices of necromancy, do not admit them within your hearing. Stand aloof from every form of intemperance, being neither a glutton nor a lover of pleasure, and, above all, from covetousness and usury. Venture not among the assemblies of the heathen spectacles; never use amulets in times of sickness; put aside also the defilement of frequenting taverns. Fall not into the sect of the Samaritans or into Judaism; for henceforth Jesus Christ has redeemed you. Stand aloof from all observation of Sabbaths and speak not of any of the indifferent meats as common or unclean. But abhor especially all the assemblies of the wicked heretics; and in every way

⁵² Note the omission of the Apocalypse from Cyril's Canon.

⁵³ This chapter gives us some idea of the pagan atmosphere in which the Christian had to live.

make your own soul safe, by fasting, prayers, alms, and the reading of the divine oracles, that living in temperance and in the observance of pious doctrines for the rest of your time in the flesh, you may enjoy the one salvation of the laver of baptism, and so, enrolled in the heavenly hosts by God the Father, you may be deemed worthy of the heavenly crowns, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

CATECHESIS V

On Faith

*"Now faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that are not seen; for by it the men of old had testimony borne to them."*¹

(1) How great a dignity the Lord confers upon you in transferring you from the rank of catechumens to that of the faithful Paul the Apostle indicates when he says: "God is faithful, by him you have been called into fellowship with his Son, Jesus Christ."² For, since God is called faithful, you also, in receiving this title, receive a great dignity. For as God is called Good, and Just, and Almighty, and Creator of the universe, so also is He called faithful. Consider then to what a dignity you are being exalted in that you are about to become a sharer of a title of God.

(2) Moreover, it is required that each of you be found faithful in conscience.³ For, "it is a task to find a faithful man."⁴ Not that you should show your conscience to me—for not by man's day are you to be judged⁵—but that you may show the sincerity of your faith to God, "the searcher of reins and hearts,"⁶ who "knows the thoughts of men."⁷ A great thing is a faithful man, no man is so rich as he. For,

1 Heb. 11.1, 2.

2 1 Cor. 1.9.

3 Cf. 1 Cor. 4.2.

4 Prov. 20.6 (Sept.).

5 Cf. 1 Cor. 4.3.

6 Ps. 7.10.

7 Ps. 93.11.

"to the faithful man belongs the whole world of riches,"⁸ inasmuch as he disdains wealth and tramples it underfoot. For those who in appearance are rich, though they have many possessions, are yet poor in soul; for the more they amass, the more they pine with longing for what they lack. But the believer, paradoxically, is rich even when poor; for knowing that we have need only of raiment and food, and being content with these, he has trampled riches underfoot.⁹

(3) It is not only among us, who are marked with the name of Christ, that the dignity of faith is great; all the business of the world, even of those outside the Church, is accomplished by faith.¹⁰ By faith, marriage laws join in union persons who are strangers one to another; the spouses, though erstwhile strangers, bestow on each other their bodies and material possessions, because of faith in the marriage contracts. By faith agriculture is sustained; for a man does not endure the toil involved unless he believes that he will reap a harvest. By faith, seafaring men, entrusting themselves to a tiny wooden craft, exchange the solid element of the land for the unstable motion of the waves, surrendering themselves to uncertain hopes and carrying about with them a faith more sure than any anchor. Most of the affairs of men, then, depend on faith; and not only among us does this hold true, but also, as I have said, among those outside the fold. For though they do not accept the Scriptures but advance certain doctrines of their own, yet even these they receive on faith.

(4) The lesson read today likewise calls you to the true faith, as it points out the way by which you must please God; for it says that "without faith it is impossible to please [God]."¹¹ For when will a man propose to serve God, unless he believes that He is a rewarder?¹² When will a young

⁸ Prov. 17.6 (Sept.).

⁹ Cf. 1 Tim 6.8.

¹⁰ This chapter constitutes an excellent approach to the meaning of faith.

¹¹ Heb. 11.6.

¹² Cf. *ibid.*

woman lead the life of a virgin or a young man a life of self-control, unless they believe that for chastity there is a never-fading crown? Faith is the eye that enlightens every conscience and produces understanding; for the Prophet says: "If you will not believe, you shall not understand."¹³ Faith stops up the mouths of lions,¹⁴ according to Daniel; for Scripture says of him: "Daniel was removed from the den, unhurt because he trusted in his God."¹⁵ Is there anything more terrible than the devil? Yet, even against him, we have no other armor than faith, a spiritual shield against an invisible enemy. For he discharges manifold arrows, and shoots in the dark those who are not vigilant;¹⁶ but, though the enemy is unseen, we have our faith as a strong protection, according to the saying of the Apostle: "In all things taking up the shield of faith, with which you may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the most wicked one."¹⁷ Oftentimes a fiery dart of desire of base indulgence is discharged by the devil; but faith, representing to us the Judgment, and cooling the mind, extinguishes the dart.

(5) Much is to be said about faith, and the whole day would not suffice for us to discourse fully upon it. For the present let us be content with Abraham as an example from the Old Testament, since of him also we have become sons by faith. He was justified, not by works alone, but by faith. For he had done many things well, yet he was never called friend of God but when he believed;¹⁸ and further, every deed of his was perfected by faith. By faith, he left his parents; by faith, he left country, district, and home. Just as he was justified, so you also will be justified. He was dead in body for the further begetting of children; for he was an old man, his wife Sara was old also, and there was no hope left

¹³ Isa. 7.9 (Sept.).

¹⁴ Cf. Dan. 6.23; Heb. 11.33.

¹⁵ Dan. 6.24.

¹⁶ Cf. Ps. 10.3.

¹⁷ Eph. 6.16.

¹⁸ Cf. Gen. 15.6; James 2.23.

of offspring. God promised offspring to the old man; and Abraham was not weak in faith,¹⁹ and considering his own body now dead, he looked not to the weakness of his body, but to the power of Him who promised, believing "that he who had given the promise was faithful,"²⁰ and so from bodies as good as dead, beyond all expectation, he obtained a son. Then, after begetting a son, when he was commanded to offer him, though he had already heard the words: "In Isaac thy seed shall be called,"²¹ he proceeded to offer his only-begotten son to God, "reasoning that God has power to raise up even from the dead."²² And when he had bound his son and placed him on the wood, in will, indeed, he sacrificed him, but by the goodness of God, who supplied him a lamb in place of his child, he received his son alive. Therefore, because he was faithful, he was sealed unto righteousness, and he received circumcision as the seal of the faith which he had while uncircumcised,²³ having received a promise that he would be "the father of a multitude of nations."²⁴

(6) Let us see in what respect Abraham is the father of many nations. Admittedly, he is the father of the Jews, by succession according to the flesh. But if we look only to succession according to the flesh, we shall be forced to say that the oracle is false; for he is no longer father of all of us according to the flesh. But the example of his faith makes us all sons of Abraham. How and in what manner? It is incredible among men that one should rise from the dead; as it is likewise incredible that offspring be born of aged persons as good as dead. But when Christ is preached as having been crucified on the tree, as having died and risen again, we believe it. By the likeness of our faith, therefore, we become the adopted sons of Abraham; and consequent upon our faith,

¹⁹ Rom. 4.19.

²⁰ Heb. 11.11.

²¹ Heb. 11.18.

²² Heb. 11.19.

²³ Cf. Rom. 4.11.

²⁴ Gen. 17.5.

like him we receive the spiritual seal, being circumcised by the Holy Spirit through the laver of baptism, not in the foreskin of the body, but in the heart, according to the words of Jeremiah: "For the sake of the Lord, be circumcised, remove the foreskins of your hearts,"²⁵ and according to the Apostle: In the "circumcision which is of Christ, buried together with him in baptism," and so forth.²⁶

(7) If we guard this faith, we shall be free from condemnation and be adorned with virtues of every kind. For the power of faith is so great that it even buoys up men walking upon the sea. Peter was a man like ourselves, composed of flesh and blood, and living on like foods. But when Jesus said: "Come,"²⁷ believing, he walked upon the waters, having in his faith a support firmer than any natural ground, and upholding the weight of his body by the buoyancy of his faith. Now as long as he believed, he had firm footing upon the water, but when he doubted, then he began to sink; for as his faith gradually gave way, his body also was drawn down along with it. Realizing his predicament, Jesus, who cures our souls' sicknesses, said: "O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?"²⁸ Then, strengthened by Him who grasped his right hand, as soon as he had recovered his faith, led by the hand of the Master, he walked upon the waters as before. For the Gospel signifies this indirectly in the words: "And when they got into the boat."²⁹ For it does not say, swimming to the boat, Peter got into it, but it gives us to understand that, after retracing the distance he had traversed in going to Jesus, he re-entered the boat.

(8) Further, faith has such power that not only is the believer saved, but some have been saved through the faith of others. The man sick of the palsy in Capernaum was not a believer; but those who brought him, and let him down

²⁵ Jer. 4.4.

²⁶ Cf. Col. 2.11, 12.

²⁷ Matt. 14.29.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 14.31.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 14.32.

through the tiles, had faith; for the soul of the sick man shared the sickness of his body. And do not think that I accuse him rashly. The Gospel itself says: "Jesus seeing," not his faith but "their faith, he said to the paralytic, Arise."³⁰ They who brought him believed and the one sick with the palsy got the benefit of the cure.

(9) Do you wish to see with more certainty that some are saved by the faith of others? Lazarus died; one day had passed, and a second, and a third, and dissolution and putrefaction were already setting into his body. How could one four days dead believe and call upon the Redeemer on his own behalf? But what was lacking in the dead man was supplied by his sisters. For when the Lord came, one of them fell at His feet. To His question: "Where have you laid him?"³¹ she answered: "Lord, by this time he is already decayed, for he is dead four days."³² Then the Lord said: "If you believe, you shall behold the glory of God."³³ This was tantamount to saying: Wake up what is wanting in your dead brother's faith. And the sisters' faith, in fact, availed to recall the dead man from the gates of hell. Now if men, believing one for another, have been able to raise from the dead, will not you, if you believe sincerely on your own behalf, be profited all the more? Indeed, even though you be faithless or of little faith, the Lord is benevolent, and shows indulgence to you when you repent; only do you, too, say with all sincerity: "I do believe, Lord; help my unbelief."³⁴ But if you think that you are a believer, but have not yet attained the perfection of faith, you too have need of saying with the Apostles: Lord, "increase our faith."³⁵ For, while you have some part from yourself, the greater part you receive from Him.

(10) Though the term "faith" is one, as far as expression

³⁰ Matt. 9.2, 6.

³¹ John 11.34.

³² *Ibid.* 11.39.

³³ *Ibid.* 11.40.

³⁴ Mark 9.23.

³⁵ Luke 17.5.

goes, it may mean either of two things. Dogmatic faith involves an assent to some truth; and this truly profits the soul, as the Lord says: "He who hears my words, and believes him who sent me, has life everlasting; and does not come to judgment." And again: "He who believes in the Son is not judged, but has passed from death to life."³⁶ O the great loving-kindness of God! Now the just, indeed, in many years of service have pleased God; but what they succeeded in gaining by many years of well-pleasing service, this Jesus now bestows on you in a single hour. For, if you believe that Jesus Christ is Lord, and that God raised Him from the dead, you will be saved and translated into paradise by Him who brought the robber into paradise. Doubt not that this is possible; for He who here on holy Golgotha saved the robber after a single hour of faith will save you also when you believe.

(11) There is a second kind of faith, which is bestowed by Christ as a special gift. "To one through the Spirit is given the utterance of wisdom; and to another the utterance of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another the gift of healing."³⁷ Now this faith, given as a grace by the Spirit, is not only doctrinal, but also effects things beyond man's power. For whoever possesses this faith "will say to this mountain, 'Remove from here,' and it will remove."³⁸ For whenever anyone shall say this in faith, believing that it will come to pass, "and does not waver in his heart,"³⁹ then he receives that grace. It is of this grace that the saying stands: "If you have faith like a mustard seed."⁴⁰ For just as the mustard seed, tiny as it is, has a fiery power and, narrow though its seed-bed, has a mighty spread of branches, so that when full-grown it affords shelter to the birds of the air, so also faith, in a twinkling, produces mighty effects in the soul. For when it is enlightened by faith,

³⁶ John 3.18; 5.24.

³⁷ 1 Cor. 12.8, 9.

³⁸ Matt. 17.19.

³⁹ Mark 11.23.

⁴⁰ Matt. 17.19.

the soul has visions of God, and contemplates God, as far as it may; it ranges over the bounds of the universe, and before the consummation of this world, beholds the judgment and the payment of the promised rewards. Cherish therefore that faith which comes from yourself and is directed towards Him, that you may also receive from Him that faith which accomplishes things beyond man's power.

(12) In learning and professing the faith, embrace and guard that only which is now delivered to you by the Church, and confirmed by all the Scriptures. For since not everyone has both the education and the leisure required to read and know the Scriptures, to prevent the soul perishing from ignorance, we sum up the whole doctrine of the faith in a few lines. This summary I wish you to commit to memory, word for word, and to repeat among yourselves with all zeal, not writing it on paper, but engraving it by memory on the heart. Only take care, in rehearsing it, that no catechumen chance to overhear what has been delivered to you. Keep it as a provision for the way throughout the whole course of your life, and beyond this, never receive any other, even though we ourselves should change and contradict what we now teach; nay, even though an enemy angel, transformed into an angel of light, should try to lead you astray. For "even if we or an angel from heaven should preach a gospel to you other than that which you have now received, let him be anathema."⁴¹ For the present, just listen and memorize the creed as I recite it, and you will receive in due course the proof from Scripture of each of its propositions. For not according to men's pleasure have the articles of faith been composed, but the most important points collected from the Scriptures make up one complete teaching of the faith. And just as the mustard seed in a small grain contains in embryo many future branches, so also the creed embraces in a few words all the religious knowledge in both the Old and the New Testament. Take heed, therefore, brethren, and hold fast to

⁴¹ Gal. 1.8, 9.

the teachings⁴² which are now delivered to you, and “write them on the tablet of your heart.”⁴³

(13) Guard them with care else by chance the enemy may despoil those who have grown remiss, or some heretic may pervert the traditions entrusted to you. Faith is like opening a deposit account at the bank, as we have now done; but it is God who is the author. “I charge thee,” as the Apostle says, “in the sight of God, who gives life to all things, and in the sight of Christ Jesus, who bore witness to that great claim before Pontius Pilate,”⁴⁴ that you keep this faith which is delivered unto you, without stain until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. A treasure of life has now been committed to you, and the Master will require the deposit at the time of His coming, which “he in his own time will make manifest, who is the blessed and the only sovereign, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; who alone has immortality and dwells in light inaccessible, whom no man has seen nor can see”;⁴⁵ to whom be glory, honor, and power forever and ever. Amen.

⁴² 2 Thess. 2.14, 15.

⁴³ Prov. 7.3. The text of the Nicene creed follows this chapter in some manuscripts.

⁴⁴ 1 Tim. 6.13, 14.

⁴⁵ 1 Tim. 6.15, 16.

CATECHESIS VI

On the Unity of God

*"Be renewed unto me, you islands. Israel is saved by the Lord, saved forever! They shall never be put to shame or disgraced in future ages."*¹

(1) "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."² For, with the thought of God, let the thought of Father be joined, that Father and Son may be perfectly and indivisibly glorified. For the Father does not have one glory and the Son another, but both have one and the same. For as the Father's Only-begotten Son, when the Father is glorified, the Son shares in the glory. For the Son's glory stems from His Father's honor; and when in turn the Son is glorified, the Father of so blessed a Son is greatly honored.

(2) Now while the mind's thought is very swift, the tongue needs words and much intermediary discourse. The eye too takes in at once a great company of stars, but when a man wishes to isolate one in particular to identify the morning star, the evening star, and the other individual stars, he must discourse at length. Similarly, the mind in a twinkling comprehends earth and sea and all the bounds of the world. But that which it perceives in an instant it describes in many words. Now, however impressive the example I have given, it is still weak and feeble. For we say about God not what is due (for this is known to Him alone), but as much as man's nature grasps and our weakness can bear. For we do not declare what God is but we frankly confess that we have no

¹ Isa. 45.16, 17 (Sept.).

² 2 Cor. 1.3.

exact knowledge concerning Him. On the subject of God, it is great knowledge to confess our ignorance. "Glorify," then, "the Lord with me; and let us together extol his name";³ all of us in union, for one does not suffice; nay, though all of us join together, it will still be inadequate. Nor do I mean you alone who are present, but even if all the children of the universal Church, present and future, should meet together, they could not sing worthily the praises of our Shepherd.

(3) Great and honorable was Abraham, but great in comparison with men; when he came nigh to God he acknowledged truthfully: "I am but earth and ashes."⁴ He did not say "earth" and stop there, to call himself by that great element, but added, "and ashes," that he might represent his own nature, prone to dissolution and corruption. Is there anything, he says, meaner or more insignificant than ashes? For compare, he says, ashes with a house, a house with a city, a city with a province, a province with the Roman Empire, the Roman Empire with the whole earth and all its bounds, and the whole earth with the heaven which encompasses it. The earth, compared to the heaven, is as the hub to the circumference of the wheel (for such is the proportion between earth and heaven); and consider that this first heaven which we see is smaller than the second, and the second smaller than the third; for thus far has Scripture named them,⁵ not because there are only so many, but because it was expedient for us to know only so many. When you have perceived all the heavens in the mind's eye, then even these will still be unable to praise God as He is, though they ring with a voice louder than thunder. But if such vast expanses of heavens cannot celebrate God worthily, how will earth and ashes, the smallest and least of substances, ever avail to hymn praises worthy of God, who "sits enthroned above the vaults of the earth, and its inhabitants are like grasshoppers"?⁶

³ Ps. 33.4.

⁴ Cf. Gen. 18.27.

⁵ Cf. 2 Cor. 12.2. Cyril speaks of three heavens but suggests there may be more. Some early writers mention three heavens, others seven.

⁶ Isa. 40.22.

(4) If any man undertakes to speak of the attributes of God, let him first describe the bounds of the earth. Though you dwell on the earth you do not know the limit of your dwelling place; how then will you be able to form a worthy concept of its Creator? You see the stars, but their Maker you do not see; first, number the stars, which are seen, and then set forth Him who is not seen; "He tells the number of the stars; he calls each by name."⁷ The recent violent rains all but destroyed us; number the drops of rain in this city alone; rather, not in the city, but number the drops which fell upon your own house in a single hour, if you can. But since you cannot, you acknowledge your own weakness. From this learn the power of God. For "he has numbered the rain-drops"⁸ poured down upon the whole earth, not only now but through all time. The sun is a work of God, great indeed, but very small compared to the whole heavens. Fix your attention on the sun first, and then inquire assiduously about its Lord. "What is too sublime for you seek not; into things beyond your strength search not. What is committed to you, attend to."⁹

(5) But someone will say: if the Divine Nature is incomprehensible, then why do you discourse about these things? Well then, because I cannot drink up the whole stream, am I not even to take in proportion to my need? Or because I cannot take in all the sunlight owing to the constitution of my eyes, am I not even to gaze upon what is sufficient for my wants? On entering a vast orchard, because I cannot eat all the fruit therein, would you have me go away completely hungry? I praise and glorify Him who made us; for it is a divine command which says: "Let everything that has breath praise the Lord!"¹⁰ I am endeavoring now to glorify the Lord, not to describe Him, though I know that I shall fall short of glorifying Him worthily; still I consider

⁷ Ps. 146.4.

⁸ Job 36.27 (Sept.).

⁹ Eccles. (Sir.) 3.20, 21.

¹⁰ Ps. 150.6.

it a godly work to try all the same. For the Lord Jesus encourages my weakness when He says: "No one has at any time seen God."¹¹

(6) But, I shall be told, is it not written: "The angels of the little ones always behold the face of my Father in heaven"?¹² The angels see God, not as He is, but in the measure of their capacity. For it is Jesus Himself who says: "Not that anyone has seen the Father except him who is from God, he has seen the Father."¹³ Angels see according to their capacity and the archangels as they are able; and the Thrones and Dominations in a greater measure than the former, but still less than God's real being. Only the Holy Spirit, together with the Son, can behold Him perfectly. For He "searches all things, even the deep things of God";¹⁴ just as even the Only-begotten Son, together with the Holy Spirit, knows the Father perfectly. "Nor does anyone know the Father," He says, "except the Son and him to whom the Son reveals Him."¹⁵ For He beholds Him fully and, through the Holy Spirit, reveals God according to the capacity of each; since the Only-begotten Son, together with the Holy Spirit, is a partaker of the Godhead of the Father. He who was begotten without passion¹⁶ from all eternity knows Him who begot, and He who begot knows Him who is begotten. Since then angels are ignorant (for to each, according to his individual capacity, does the Only-begotten reveal, with and through the Holy Spirit, as we have said), let no man be ashamed to confess his ignorance. I am speaking now, and all do on occasion, yet how we speak we cannot tell; how then can I describe Him who gave the power of speech? How shall I, who have a soul and yet cannot declare its characteristics, set forth its Giver?

¹¹ John 1.18.

¹² Cf. Matt. 18.10.

¹³ John 6.46.

¹⁴ 1 Cor. 2.10.

¹⁵ Matt. 11.27.

¹⁶ "Without passion" refers especially to the immutability of God.

(7) This alone will be a sufficient incentive to piety, to know that we have a God, a God who is One, a God who is, who is eternal, who is ever the self-same, with no father, no one mightier than Himself, no successor to drive Him out of His kingdom, who is honored under many names, is all-powerful, and uniform in substance. For although He is called Good, and Just and Omnipotent, and Sabaoth, this does not mean He is diverse;¹⁷ but being One and the same, He fathers the countless operations of the Godhead; not abounding on one side and deficient on another, but being in all things like unto Himself; not great in loving-kindness and little in wisdom, but possessing wisdom and loving-kindness in like measure; not seeing in part and in part deprived of sight, but being all eye and all ear and all mind; not as we, knowing in part and in part ignorant, for such an assertion were blasphemous and unworthy of the Divine Nature. He has foreknowledge of the things that are, and is Holy and Omnipotent, and surpasses all in goodness and greatness and wisdom. Of Him we can declare neither form nor shape. For "you have never heard his voice, nor seen his face,"¹⁸ says Scripture. Therefore, Moses says to the Israelites: "Be strictly on your guard" because "you saw no form at all."¹⁹ For, if it is quite impossible to imagine His likeness, how will thought ever come near His substance?

(8) Many have been the imaginings of many men, but all have failed. Some have thought God to be fire, others like a man with wings, because of the perverse interpretation of a text true in itself: "Hide me in the shadow of your wings."²⁰ They have forgotten that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten, spoke in similar terms concerning Himself to Jerusalem: "How often would I have gathered thy children

¹⁷ Cyril stresses the various titles and attributes of God not merely to refute the heretics but also to protect the more simple among his hearers.

¹⁸ John 5.37.

¹⁹ Deut. 4.15.

²⁰ Ps. 16.8.

together, as a hen gathers her young under her wings, but thou wouldst not.”²¹ For, while His protective power is compared to wings, these men, not understanding, and falling to the level of human things, conceived His unsearchable being in terms of human experience. Others have ventured to say that He has seven eyes, because it is written: “. . . seven . . . eyes of the Lord that range over the whole earth.”²² For, if seven eyes, and no more, encircle Him, then He sees in part only and not perfectly, and to say this is blasphemous. For we must believe that God is perfect in all things, according to the saying of the Savior: “Your heavenly Father is perfect”;²³ perfect in sight, perfect in power, perfect in greatness, perfect in foreknowledge, perfect in goodness, perfect in justice, perfect in loving-kindness; not limited by space, but the Creator of space, existing in all things but circumscribed by none. The heaven is His throne, but He who sits thereon is above it; the earth His footstool,²⁴ but His power extends even to the things beneath the earth.

(9) He is One, everywhere present, seeing all things, understanding all things, fashioning all things through Christ. He is a fountainhead of all good, immense and unfailing, a stream of blessings, light eternal shining unceasingly, power insuperable, condescending to our infirmities; we cannot endure even His name. “Wilt thou find the footstep of God,” says Job, “or hast thou attained to the least things which the Almighty hath made?”²⁵ If the very least of His works are not comprehended, will He who made all things be comprehended? “Eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man, what things God has prepared for those who love him.”²⁶ If the things God has prepared are beyond our comprehension, can we comprehend Him who

²¹ Matt. 23.27.

²² Zach. 4.10.

²³ Matt. 5.48.

²⁴ Cf. Acts 7.49.

²⁵ Job 11.7 (Sept.).

²⁶ 1 Cor. 2.9.

has prepared them? "Oh, the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments and how unsearchable his ways!"²⁷ If His judgments and ways are incomprehensible, will He Himself be comprehended?

(10) Though God is so great, and even still greater (for if I were to become all tongue, not even then could I speak of Him adequately; nay, more, not even if all angels should gather together, could they speak of Him adequately); though He is so great, in goodness and majesty, man said to the stone he had himself graven: "Thou art my God."²⁸ O monstrous blindness, to descend from such majesty to such baseness! The tree which God planted and rain increased, and which afterwards is burned and turned into glowing ashes, this is proclaimed God, while the true God is despised. The wickedness of idolatry abounded still more, and cat and dog²⁹ and wolf were worshiped instead of God; and the man-eating lion was adored instead of the most loving God. Snake and dragon, counterparts of him who caused us to be driven from paradise, were worshiped, while He who planted paradise was scorned. I am ashamed to say it, but say it I will, even onions have been worshiped among some.³⁰ Wine was given "to gladden men's hearts,"³¹ and Dionysus was worshiped in the place of God. God made corn by saying: "Let the earth bring forth vegetation, yielding seed after its kind,"³² "that bread may fortify man's heart."³³ Why then was Demeter worshiped? Even today we still strike fire from flint; how then was Hephaestus the creator of fire?

(11) Whence arose the polytheistic error of the Greeks? God is incorporeal; whence, then, the charges of adultery against

²⁷ Rom. 11.33.

²⁸ Isa. 44.17.

²⁹ At *Cat.* 13.40 Cyril refers to the cult of cat and dog specifically in Egypt.

³⁰ Cf. *Juv., Sat.* 15.7ff.

³¹ Ps. 103.15.

³² Gen. 1.11 (Sept.).

³³ Cf. Ps. 103.15.

their so-called gods? I say nothing about the changes of Zeus into a swan; I am ashamed to speak of his transformation into a bull, for bellows are unworthy of a god. The god of the Greeks has been proven an adulterer, but they are not ashamed; yet if he is an adulterer, let him not be called a god. They tell of deaths among their gods, and expulsions and thunderbolts. Do you see from what majesty to what depths they have descended? Was it for nothing, then, that the Son of God came down from heaven to heal so great a wound? Was it for nothing that the Son came that the Father might be acknowledged? You realize what it was that moved the Only-begotten to descend from the throne of God's right hand. The Father was being scorned; it behooved the Son to correct the error; it behooved Him, through whom all things were made, to offer them all to the Lord of all. The wound had to be healed; stones were being given the worship due to God: could man's sickness go further?

(12) But apart from these diabolic onslaughts among the pagans, many also of those "Christians" who misappropriate Christ's sweet name have dared in their impiety to separate God from His own creatures.³⁴ I am referring to the accursed, irreligious brood of heretics, who, while they pretend to be lovers of Christ, hate Him utterly. For he who speaks ill of the Father of Christ is an enemy of the Son. These men have dared to speak of two godheads, one good and one evil. O monstrous blindness! If a Godhead, it is surely good; if it is not good, why is it called Godhead? For, if goodness belongs to God, if loving-kindness, beneficence, omnipotence, are proper to God, then let them choose one of two things: either let them call Him God and then give Him the reality along with the name; or if they must deny Him the reality, let them not bestow the empty title.

(13) Heretics have dared to speak of two Gods and two primal sources of good and evil, respectively. If both were

³⁴ In chapters 12-32 Cyril gives a short history of heresy beginning with Simon Magus. The chapters on Mani (21-32) make fascinating reading.

primal and uncreated, both would be equal, both mighty; but how is it, then, that the light destroys darkness? Further, are they in the same place, or apart? They cannot be together, for "what fellowship has light with darkness?"³⁵ says the Apostle. But if they are far from each other, then surely each has its own place. But if they have their own private places, then it is obvious that we are in the dominion of the One God and worship one God. So we must conclude, even if we give assent to the foolish doctrine of these men, that we must worship one God. Now let us inquire what they say about the good God. Is He powerful, or does He lack power? If He possesses power, how did evil originate against His will? How does the evil substance intrude itself without His consent? For, if He knows but cannot hinder it, they charge Him with impotence; but if He can and does not hinder it, they accuse Him of wantonness. See how illogical they are: at one time they say that the evil God has nothing in common with the good God in the creation of the world, but at other times that he has a quarter part. They say also that the good God is the Father of Christ, whom they identify with our sun. If, then, our universe, on their theory, was made by the evil God, and the sun is in the universe, how does the Son of the good God serve against His will in the realm of the evil God? Even to speak of these blasphemous doctrines is a sort of defilement, but speak I must, if I am to save someone perhaps present from falling, through ignorance, into the mire of heresy. I know I have profaned my own mouth and your ears, but it is for the best. For it is far better to listen to others exposing these absurdities, if it saves you from falling victims to them yourselves out of ignorance. Better to know the quagmire and hate it than blindly to plunge into it. The history of godless heresies is a maze; to stray from the one straight way is to find oneself faced with precipices at every step.

(14) The inventor of all heresy was Simon Magus; that

³⁵ 2 Cor. 6.14.

Simon who, in the Acts of the Apostles,³⁶ thought he could buy with money the gift of the Holy Spirit, that is beyond price, and who heard these words: "Thou hast no part or lot in this matter," . . .;³⁷ to whom the text applies: "They have gone forth from us, but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would surely have continued with us."³⁸ After his rejection by the Apostles he came to Rome and, winning over a harlot, Helena, he first dared to say with impious mouth that it was he who had appeared as the Father on Mount Sinai; that afterwards among the Jews, not in the flesh, but in semblance, he had appeared as Christ Jesus; and after this as the Holy Spirit, whom Christ had promised to send as the Advocate. So successfully did he impose upon the inhabitants of the imperial city that Claudius set up his statue, writing beneath it in the Roman tongue: SIMONI DEO SANCTO, that is, "To Simon the Holy God."³⁹

(15) But when the deception was gaining ground, that noble pair, Peter and Paul, the champions of the Church, arrived on the scene and saved the day; and the supposed god Simon, as he was displaying his powers, they promptly showed to be no better than a dead man. For when Simon publicly announced that he was to be carried up into the heavens, and was actually borne through the air in a demon's chariot, the servants of Christ, falling on their knees and manifesting that concord of which Jesus said: "If two of you shall agree . . . about anything at all for which they ask, it shall be done for them,"⁴⁰ they hurled against Simon the weapon of united prayer and struck him down to earth. And no wonder, though it was wonderful. For Peter was there, the keeper of the keys of heaven.⁴¹ No wonder, too, for Paul was there; he who had been "caught up to the third heaven"

³⁶ Cf. Acts 8.18, 19.

³⁷ Acts 8.21.

³⁸ 1 John 2.19.

³⁹ Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 2.69, 94) is the authority for this story, apparently confusing Simon with a Sabine divinity, Semo Sancus.

⁴⁰ Matt. 18.19.

⁴¹ Cf. Matt. 16.19.

and "into paradise, and heard secret words that man may not repeat."⁴² They brought down that supposed god from the sky to earth, to be led thence to the realms beneath the earth. This man was the first dragon of wickedness; but when one head had been cut off, the stem of wickedness proved to be many-headed.

(16) The Church was ravaged by Cerinthus, Menander, and Carpocrates; also by the Ebionites and by that mouth-piece of impiety, Marcion. For he who preaches different gods, one the good and another the just, contradicts the Son who says: "Just Father."⁴³ Again, anyone who differentiates between Father and Creator sets himself against the Son when He says: "But if God so clothes the grass which today is alive in the field and tomorrow is thrown into the oven";⁴⁴ and "Who makes his sun to rise on the good and the evil, and sends rain on the just and the unjust."⁴⁵ There followed Marcion, a deviser of fresh mischief. He was the first to dare to cut out the Old Testament testimonies cited in the New—for these brought him to naught—and to leave the preaching of the word without witness. He fancied he had disposed of God with a pair of scissors, and hoped thus to corrupt the faith of the Church—as if there were no kerygmatic tradition to be reckoned with.⁴⁶

(17) Still another succeeded him, Basilides, of evil name, a formidable customer, a preacher of licentiousness.⁴⁷ Valentinus vied in iniquity with his doctrine of thirty deities.⁴⁸ The Greeks do not name so many but Valentinus, a Christian in name only, brought the tally up to thirty. According to him Bythos, the Abyss (for it was fitting that he who is the abyss

⁴² 2 Cor. 12.2-4.

⁴³ John 17.25.

⁴⁴ Luke 12.28.

⁴⁵ Matt. 5.45.

⁴⁶ Marcion denied the Gospels, except that of St. Luke, which he mutilated. He represented the Old and New Testaments as revelations of two different gods.

⁴⁷ On Basilides, cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.24.3ff.

⁴⁸ On Valentinus, cf. *ibid.* 1.1.1.

of iniquity should base his doctrine on the Abyss), begot Silence, and of Silence begot the Word. This Bythos was worse than the Greeks' Zeus who was united to his sister, for Silence was said to be the daughter of Bythos. There you have absurdity cloaked with a semblance of Christianity. In a moment you will be filled with loathing at his impiety. For he says that there were begotten of this Bythos eight Aeons, and of these ten more, and of these still another twelve, male and female. What proof does he offer of these things? Recognize their nonsense from the arguments they invent. Your proof of the thirty Aeons? It is Holy Writ that Jesus was baptized when He was thirty years of age.⁴⁹ But what argument is there from the thirty years, even if we grant that He was baptized when He was thirty? Are there five gods because He broke five loaves among five thousand? Or because He had twelve disciples, must there be also twelve gods?

(18) This however is mere trifling compared to the rest of his impieties. For he says that the last of the deities, which he dares to say is a hermaphrodite, is Wisdom. O what impiety! For Christ is "the wisdom of God,"⁵⁰ His Only-begotten Son. But Valentinus in his doctrine reduced the Wisdom of God to the female sex, and a thirtieth element, and a last creation. He adds that Wisdom attempted to look upon the first God and, not being able to endure His brightness, fell from the heavens and was cast out of the thirtieth place; then she groaned and of her groans begot the devil; and she wept over her fall and by her tears she produced the sea. Is not that plain impiety? For how is the devil begotten of wisdom? and wickedness of prudence? or darkness of light? He adds that the devil begot others who made the world; and that Christ came to lead men in rebellion against the Creator of the world.

(19) Now let me tell you what account they give of Christ, that you may loathe them all the more. For they teach that

⁴⁹ Cf. Luke 3.23.

⁵⁰ 1 Cor. 1.24.

after Wisdom fell, that the number of the thirty might not be incomplete, the twenty-nine Aeons, each contributing a small element, produced the Christ; and He too, they say, is hermaphrodite. Could anything be more impious? anything more pitiful? I am detailing their error to you that you may loathe them the more. Therefore, shun such impiety; you are not to salute such people, that you may "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness";⁵¹ do not be over curious nor wish to enter into conversation with them.

(20) Abhor all heretics, but especially him who has the manic name, who arose not long ago under the Emperor Probus. It is a matter of seventy years since the error originated, and there are men living today who saw Mani with their own eyes. But it is not simply because he lived so recently that you are to abhor the scoundrel; no, but for his impious doctrines, this vessel of all uncleanness, this garbage-bin of all the heresies. For, conceiving the ambition to be pre-eminent in evils, combining all into a single heresy brimful of blasphemies and all iniquity, he proceeded to ravage the Church, or rather, those outside the Church, like a lion going about and devouring.⁵² Heed not their fair speaking or their mock humility; for they are serpents, a "brood of vipers."⁵³ Remember that when Judas said, "Hail, Rabbi,"⁵⁴ the salutation was an act of betrayal. Don't be deceived by the kiss, but beware of the venom.

(21) To avoid giving the impression of groundless accusations, allow me to digress in order to explain who this Mani is and to give an account, however incomplete, of his doctrines. For all time could not adequately describe all his foul teaching. You must store up in your memory, to be a help at need, the instruction imparted to former classes and now to be repeated to you; so what I shall say by way of

⁵¹ Eph. 5.11.

⁵² Cf. 1 Peter 5.8.

⁵³ Matt. 3.7.

⁵⁴ Matt. 26.49.

instructing the uninformed will serve also to refresh the memory of the instructed. Mani is not of Christian origin, God forbid! Nor was he, like Simon Magus, cast out of the Church, neither he, nor the teachers before him; for he is a plagiarist of bad authors, and makes their wickedness his own. But how and in what manner, you must hear.

(22) There was in Egypt a certain Scythianus, a Saracen by race, having nothing in common with Judaism or Christianity. Having settled at Alexandria, where he emulated the life of Aristotle, Scythianus composed four books. One he styled a *Gospel*, although, in spite of the title, it did not contain the acts of Christ; another he called *Chapters*, and a third *Mysteries*, and a fourth still being hawked about, the *Treasure*. This man had a disciple named Terebinthus. Scythianus had determined to come into Judaea and to ravage the region, but the Lord, causing his death by disease, put an end to the plague.

(23) Terebinthus, his disciple in wickedness, being the heir of his gold, his books, and his heresy, came to Palestine, but, on being recognized and condemned in Judaea, he decided to cross over into Persia. To prevent his name betraying him there too, he called himself Buddas. But in Persia also he found adversaries in the ministers of Mithras. Worsted in many arguments and discussions, and at last hard pressed, he sought refuge with a certain widow. Going up on to the roof of her house, and calling upon the demons of the air, which even to this day the Manichaeans invoke over their abominable ceremony of the fig, he was struck by God, cast down from the roof, and gave up the ghost. Thus was the second wild beast cut off.

(24) But the books, the records of his impiety, remained, and the widow became heir to these and to his money. Without relatives and being, indeed, alone in the world, she determined to purchase a boy named Cubricus with the money. Adopting him, she instructed him as a son in the lore of the

Persians and thus sharpened a deadly weapon against mankind. Cubricus, the poor house slave, made a brilliant debut in learned circles. Upon the widow's death he inherited her property, including the library. Then, to escape the reproach of his slave name, Cubricus, he changed it to Mani, which in Persian means "discourse." For, since he had some reputation as a dialectician, he styled himself Mani, as one might say, "prince of talkers." But although his efforts thus secured for him a great name (at least in Persian), Providence so contrived it that he unwittingly pronounced sentence upon himself; for his fancy Persian name proclaimed him, in Greek-speaking countries, a maniac.

(25) He dared to say that he was the Advocate, though it is written: "Whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit never has forgiveness."⁵⁵ He blasphemed, then, in saying he was the Holy Spirit. Let the man who associates with such heretics see what company he is joining. The servant boy shook the world, since, "Under three things the earth trembles, yes, and under a fourth it cannot bear up: under a slave, when he becomes king . . ."⁵⁶ Once launched on a public career, Mani pretended to superhuman powers. The son of the king of the Persians was sick, and throngs of physicians were in constant attendance; but Mani promised, as a man of piety, to restore him by prayer. The physicians departed, and with them the life of the child. The impious character of the man was detected, and our fine philosopher was put in chains and cast into prison, not for reproving the king concerning truth, not for shattering the idols, but for the lying promise to save the king's son, or rather, if the truth be told, for committing murder. For, when the child might have been saved by medical treatment, he became his murderer by sending away the physicians, since by denying him medical care, he caused his death.

(26) In this catalog of crimes remember, first, his blas-

⁵⁵ Mark 3.29.

⁵⁶ Prov. 30.21, 22.

phemy; second, his slavery—not that slavery is a disgrace, but it is wicked for a slave to pretend he is free; third, his lying promise; fourth, the child's murder; fifth, the disgrace of imprisonment. Beside the disgrace, there was the flight from the prison. For the self-styled "Advocate" and champion of the truth ran away. He was no successor of Jesus, who went eagerly to the cross, but the very opposite, a runaway. Then, the king of the Persians ordered the guards of the prison to be executed. Mani, by his arrogance, was responsible for the death of the child and, by his flight, for the death of his jailers. Ought an accessory to murder be worshiped? Should he not have imitated Jesus and said: "If, therefore, you seek me, let these go their way."⁵⁷ Should he not have said, like Jona: "Pick me up and throw me into the sea," for "it is because of me that this violent storm has come upon you."⁵⁸

(27) Escaping from prison, Mani went to Mesopotamia. But there, he encountered a shield of justice in the person of Bishop Archelaus, who convened a gathering of Gentiles and arraigned him before a jury of philosophers, for he saw that the verdict of Christians might savor of bias. "Tell us what you preach," said Archelaus to Mani. But he whose "throat was an open grave,"⁵⁹ began first with blasphemy against the Creator, saying: "The God of the Old Testament is the inventor of evils, saying of Himself: I, God, am 'a consuming fire.'"⁶⁰ Then the wise Archelaus refuted the blasphemy with these words: "If the God of the Old Testament, as you say, calls Himself fire, whose Son is He who says: 'I have come to cast fire upon the earth'?"⁶¹ If you find fault with Him who says: 'The Lord killeth and maketh alive,'⁶² why do you honor Peter, who raised up Tabitha, but visited death upon

⁵⁷ John 18.8.

⁵⁸ Jona 1.12.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ps. 5.10.

⁶⁰ Deut. 4.24.

⁶¹ Luke 12.49.

⁶² 1 Kings 2.6.

Sapphira?⁶³ If, again, you find fault because He invented fire, why do you not find fault with Him who says: 'Depart from me . . . into the everlasting fire'⁶⁴ If you find fault with Him who says: 'I (am God who) make well-being and create woe,'⁶⁵ explain how Jesus says: 'I have come to bring a sword, not peace.'⁶⁶ Since both speak alike, take your choice: either both are good because of their agreement, or if Jesus, in saying these things, is free from blame, why do you censure Him who in the Old Testament speaks in like manner?"

(28) Mani returned to the charge, saying: "What sort of God is it who causes blindness? For it is Paul who says: 'In their case the god of this world has blinded their unbelieving minds, that they should not see the light of the gospel.'"⁶⁷ But Archelaus made a good rejoinder: "Go back a little, to the verse, 'And if our gospel also is veiled, it is veiled only to those who are perishing.'⁶⁸ It is in the case of the perishing, you see, that it is veiled. For holy things must not be given to dogs.⁶⁹ Besides, is it only the God of the Old Testament who blinded the minds of unbelievers? Did not Jesus Himself say: 'This is why I speak to them in parables, in order that seeing they may not see'⁷⁰ Was it out of hate that He wished them not to see? Or because of the impropriety, when they had closed their own eyes?⁷¹ For where there is deliberate wickedness, there is also a withholding of grace: 'For to everyone that hath shall be given'; 'but from him who does not have, even that which he seems to have shall be taken away.'⁷²

63 Cf. Acts 9.36; 5.10.

64 Matt. 25.41.

65 Isa. 45.7.

66 Matt. 10.34.

67 2 Cor. 4.4.

68 *Ibid.* 4.3.

69 Cf. Matt. 7.6.

70 Cf. Matt. 13.13; Luke 13.10.

71 Matt. 13.15.

72 Matt. 25.29.

(29) Possibly we should take the passage, as some laudably interpret it, thus: Though He has blinded their unbelieving minds, He has blinded them for a good purpose, that they may look to what is good. Paul did not say: He blinded their soul, but "their unbelieving minds." The verse will then mean: "Blind the lustful thoughts of the lustful man, and he is saved; blind the tendency of the robber to plunder and steal, and the man is saved." You will not understand it so? Then there is yet another interpretation. The sun blinds people suffering from poor sight, and those with weak eyes are distressed and blinded by its light; not that the sun of its nature is blinding, but because the human eye cannot look upon it. Similarly, unbelievers, whose sickness is of the heart, cannot look upon the splendor of the God-head. He did not say: He blinded their minds that they should not hear the gospel, but "that they should not see the light of the glory of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁷³ For all may hear the Gospel, but the glory of the Gospel is reserved for those only who are truly Christ's. We find the Lord speaking in parables to them who could not hear, but to His disciples in private He explained the parables. What the enlightened see as a radiant glory dazzles and blinds the unbeliever.

These mysteries which the Church now explains to you who are passing from the ranks of the catechumens are not customarily explained to heathens. For, not before heathens do we declare the mysteries concerning Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nor do we speak openly of the mysteries before the catechumens. But many things we often speak of covertly, that the faithful who know may understand, but those who do not know may suffer no harm.

(30) By these and many similar arguments was the serpent worsted. Such were the contests in which Archelaus wrestled with Mani and threw him. Our prison-breaker and runaway

⁷³ Cf. 2 Cor. 4.4.

now took to his heels again and, giving his adversary the slip, came to an obscure hamlet, like the serpent in paradise when he left Adam and approached Eve. But the good shepherd, Archelaus, in his provident care for his flock, when he heard of his flight, at once started in hot pursuit of the wolf. Catching sight of his opponent, Mani in a flash was up and off once more—but on his last flight from justice. For the royal guards, raising a hue and cry, caught the runaway, and he met at their hands the fate which by rights should have been his at Archelaus' tribunal. Mani, the venerable object of his disciples' worship, was seized and conducted to the king. The king upbraided him for lying and running away, mocked his slavish condition, exacted vengeance for the murder of his son, and held him guilty of the blood of the jailers. He ordered Mani to be flayed in the Persian fashion. While the rest of his body was given over to be food for wild beasts, his skin, the tenement of that vile spirit, was hung up before the gates like a sack. He who called himself the "Advocate" and professed a knowledge of the future, did not foresee his own flight and capture.

(31) Mani had three disciples, Thomas and Baddas and Hermas. Let none read the gospel according to Thomas, for it is the work, not of one of the twelve Apostles, but of one of Mani's three wicked disciples. Let no man attach himself to the soul-destroying Manichaeans, who affect the austerity of fasting on bran and water, and, while they malign the Creator of meats, gorge themselves with the daintiest; who teach that he who plucks this or that plant is changed into it. If the man who cuts herbs or any vegetable is transformed into the same, into how many different plants will farmers and gardeners be changed? We daily see the gardener using his sickle on a great variety of such plants; into which will he be transformed? The doctrine is obviously ludicrous, shameful, self-condemned. Suppose a shepherd successively sacrifices a sheep and kills a wolf; into which, tell me, is he changed?

Many men have netted fish and snared birds; into which of their victims are the hunters changed?

(32) Manichaeans, those scions of sloth, who will not work themselves yet eat up the fruits of those who do, receive with smiling countenances those who bring them food, and repay them with curses instead of blessings. For when some simple soul offers them anything, the Manichaean says: "Stand off a little, and I will bless you." Then, taking the loaf in his hands (as converts from the sect have confessed), he says: "I did not make you"; next, he heaps maledictions upon the Most High, curses the Maker of the bread, and finally eats it. If you hate the food, why did you look with smiling countenance upon the bearer? If you are grateful, why do you blaspheme God, who made and created it? Next, "I did not sow you," he says, "may he be sown who sowed you! I did not reap you with sickle; let him be reaped who reaped you! I did not bake you; may he be baked who baked you!" A fine thanksgiving indeed!

(33) These are great evils, but small compared with the rest. I dare not describe their baptism before men and women. I do not dare say in what they dip the fig they give to their wretched communicants. I can indicate it only indirectly; let men think of the delusive dreams of the night, and women of the menses. In truth, we defile our lips in speaking of such things. Are Greeks more detestable than they? Are Samaritans more impious? Are Jews more profane? Are fornicators more impure? For the fornicator satisfies his lust in an hour, but soon condemns his deeds, realizing that, as one defiled, he is in need of washing, and he acknowledges the foulness of his action. But the Manichaean puts his macabre offering in the middle of the "altar," and defiles his lips and his tongue. Who would accept instruction from such lips? Who would, under any circumstances, kiss him on meeting? Quite apart from the sin against religion that that would involve, will you not shun the defilement and men

worse than profligates, and more abominable than any prostitute?

(34) This is the Church's traditional instruction; she touches the mire to save you from defilement. She speaks of the wounds to save you from actual wounds. For you the knowledge is enough; avoid the experience. God thunders and we all tremble, but they blaspheme. God hurls lightnings and we fall to the ground, but they utter maledictions about heaven. Jesus says of His Father: "Who makes his sun to rise on the good and the evil, and sends rain on the just and unjust."⁷⁴ But they say the rains arise from erotic passion; and they dare to say that there is a beautiful maiden with a beautiful youth in heaven; and in the way of the camel and the wolf, they have seasons of base desire, so that, in the winter time, the youth rushes furiously after the maiden, while she flees; he pursues her and, in pursuing her, sweats, and from his sweat comes the rain. These things are written in the books of the Manichaeans. We have read them there ourselves, not believing those who told us of them; for your safety we have made a thorough examination of their pernicious doctrines.

(35) May the Lord save you from such error, and may a hatred of the serpent be granted you that, as they lie in wait for your heel, you may crush their head.⁷⁵ Be mindful of my words. What agreement can there be between your affairs and theirs? What fellowship has light with darkness,⁷⁶ or the majesty of the Church with the abomination of the Manichaeans? Here is order, here is discipline, here is majesty, here is purity, here it is a sin to look upon a woman with lust;⁷⁷ here is the high holiness of marriage, here steadfast continence, and the angelic dignity of virginity; here men give thanks when they eat, showing courtesy to the Creator

⁷⁴ Cf. Matt. 5.45.

⁷⁵ Cf. Gen. 3.15.

⁷⁶ Cf. 2 Cor. 6.14.

⁷⁷ Cf. Matt. 5.28.

of all things. Here the Father of Christ is worshiped; here are inculcated fear and trembling of Him who sends the rain; here we sing the praises of Him who causes thunder and lightning.

(36) Abide with the flock; flee from the wolves; depart not from the Church. Shun too those suspected of such things, and unless you are satisfied of their lasting repentance, do not be hasty in trusting yourself to them. The truth of the Unity of God has been delivered to you; distinguish the pastures of doctrines one from another. Be a sound banker, holding fast that which is good, and abstaining from every kind of evil.⁷⁸ If at any time you were such as they, now that you have acknowledged your error, abhor it. There is a way of salvation if you spew forth the vomit, if you hate it from the heart, if you turn away from them, not only with your lips, but with your soul; if you worship the Father of Christ, the God of the Law and the Prophets; if you acknowledge the Good and the Just to be one and the same God. May He keep all of you, protecting you from falling and stumbling, firm in the Faith, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

⁷⁸ Cf. 1 Thess. 5.21, 22.

CATECHESIS VII

On the Father

*“For this reason I bend my knees to the Father . . . from whom all fatherhood in heaven and on earth receives its name.”*¹

(1) On the Unity of God we spoke at sufficient length yesterday; I mean sufficient, not according to the dignity of the subject (for that is quite impossible for human nature), but as far as it has been granted to our weakness. I detailed the deviations in the manifold errors of the impious heretics. Shaking off their filth and their soul-poisoning doctrines, yet remembering what concerns them (not that we may suffer harm, but that we may loathe them all the more), let us now return to ourselves and take up the saving doctrines of the true faith, joining to the dignity of the Unity of God that of the Fatherhood, and believing in One God, Father. For not only should we believe in One God, but also devoutly accept that He is Father of the Only-begotten, our Lord Jesus Christ.

(2) For thus our thought will rise to a higher plane than that of the Jews, who, while they teach that God is One (though they have often denied this by idolatry), do not admit that He is also the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. In this they run counter to their own prophets, according to the Scriptures: “The Lord said to me, ‘You are my son; this day I have begotten you.’”² Even to this day, they rage and

¹ Eph. 3.14, 15.

² Ps. 2.7.

"conspire together against the Lord and against his anointed,"³ presuming that they can gain the friendship of the Father without devotion to the Son, not knowing that "no one comes to the Father but through the Son,"⁴ who says: "I am the door,"⁵ and "I am the way."⁶ How will he, who rejects the Way that leads to the Father and denies the Door, be deemed worthy of entrance unto God? They contradict, too, the words of the eighty-eighth Psalm: "He shall say of me, 'You are my father, my God, the Rock, my savior.' And I will make him the first-born, highest of the kings of the earth."⁷ For, if they argue that these words were spoken concerning David or Solomon or any of their successors, let them show how the throne of him they deem to be the object of the prophecy is "as the days of heaven,"⁸ and "like the sun before me; like the moon, which remains forever."⁹ How is it they are not put to shame by that which is written: "from the womb before the daystar I have begotten you";¹⁰ and: "He shall endure as long as the sun, and like the moon through all generations"?¹¹ To refer these things to a man is to show a complete and utter lack of sense.

(3) But let the Jews, since they will it thus, suffer their wonted sickness of unbelief in the case of these and similar statements of Scripture. For our part, we receive the devout teaching of the faith, worshiping one God, the Father of Christ. For to rob Him, who grants all the prerogative of parents,¹² of like dignity, would be impious. We believe in One God, the Father, in order that even before our fuller discussion of the teachings concerning Christ, the belief in

3 Ps. 2.2.

4 John 14.6.

5 John 10.9.

6 John 14.6.

7 Ps. 88.27, 28.

8 *Ibid.* 88.30.

9 *Ibid.* 88.37, 38.

10 Cf. Ps. 109.3.

11 Cf. Ps. 71.5.

12 Cf. Isa. 66.9.

the Only-begotten may be fixed in the soul of the hearers, to remain quite intact through the intervening discourses on the Father.

(4) The very mention of the name of the Father suggests the thought of the Son, just as, in turn, the mention of Son implies the thought of the Father. For, if He is a Father, He is surely Father of a Son. Thus we say: "In One God, Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible"; and add: "And in one Lord Jesus Christ."¹³ That no one may irreverently suppose that the Only-begotten is second in rank to heaven and earth, before naming these we named God Father, that the thought of Father might suggest the Son; for between Son and Father there is no being whatsoever.¹⁴

(5) Though God, improperly speaking, is Father of many things, by nature and in truth He is Father of One only, the Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. He did not attain Fatherhood in the course of time,¹⁵ but He is eternally Father of the Only-begotten. Not that He was Sonless before and afterwards became a Father by a change of purpose, but before all substance and all intelligence, before times and all the ages, God has the prerogative of Father, exalting Himself in this dignity before all others. He did not become a Father by passion, or from union, or in ignorance,¹⁶ or by emanation, or diminution or alteration; for "every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of Lights, with whom there is no change, nor shadow of alteration."¹⁷ A perfect Father, He begot a perfect Son, delivering all things to Him whom He begot; for He

¹³ From the Creed.

¹⁴ Perhaps aimed at the Gnostics and Valentinians. See *Cat.* 11.7-8 for a further development of this idea.

¹⁵ Cyril is refuting Arius, quoted by Athanasius as saying: *non semper deus fuit pater*.

¹⁶ Men in generating are ignorant of the issue. They beget not whom they will, but whom God grants. To say that God does not know whom He begets is impiety.

¹⁷ James 1.17.

says: "All things have been delivered to me by my Father."¹⁸ And the Father is honored by the Only-begotten: "But I honor my Father,"¹⁹ says the Son; and again: "As I also have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love."²⁰ Therefore we too say with the Apostle: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort";²¹ and: "I bend my knees to the Father . . . from whom all fatherhood in heaven and on earth receives its name,"²² glorifying Him with the Only-begotten; for he who denies the Father, denies the Son also, and again: "He who confesses the Son, has the Father also,"²³ knowing that "the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father."²⁴

(6) Therefore we worship the Father of Christ, the Creator of heaven and earth, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in whose honor the former temple also, opposite us here,²⁵ was built. For we will not endure the heretics who sever the Old Testament from the New,²⁶ but we will heed Christ who says of the temple: "Did you not know, that I must be about my Father's business?"²⁷ and again: "Take these things hence, and do not make the house of my Father a house of business."²⁸ By these words He clearly confessed that the former temple in Jerusalem was the house of His Father. But if any man, because of unbelief, desires still further proofs that the Father of Christ is one with the Creator of the world, let him hearken to Him saying: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And yet not one of them will fall to the

18 Matt. 11.27.

19 John 8.49.

20 John 15.10.

21 2 Cor. 1.3.

22 Eph. 3.14, 15.

23 Cf. 1 John 2.22, 23.

24 Phil. 2.11.

25 There were still extensive remains of the ruined temple.

26 He refers especially to Marcion, to the Gnostics, and to the Valentinians.

27 Luke 2.49.

28 John 2.16.

ground without my Father,"²⁹ who is in heaven; and: "Look at the birds of the air: they do not sow, or reap, or gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feeds them";³⁰ and also: "My Father works even until now, and I work."³¹

(7) That no one, out of simplicity or perverseness, may suppose that Christ is equal in honor to just men, because He says: "I ascend to my Father and to your Father,"³² it may be well to say by way of preface that though the name of Father is one, the power of His operation is manifold. Christ, recognizing this very thing, was careful to say: "I go to my Father, and your Father"; He did not say: "to our Father," but, making a distinction, He first said what was proper to Himself: "to my Father," that is, by nature; then He added: "and your Father," that is, by adoption. For though we have been granted the privilege of saying in our prayers: "Our Father who art in heaven,"³³ this proceeds from His loving-kindness. For we do not call Him Father as though we were natural sons of our Father who is in heaven; but, having been translated from servitude to adoption as sons, by the grace of the Father, through Son and Holy Spirit, by His ineffable loving-kindness we are privileged to speak thus.

(8) If any man wishes to learn how we call God Father, let him listen to that excellent tutor Moses: "Is not he your Father who creates you? Has he not made you and established you?"³⁴ And the Prophet Isaia: "Yet, O Lord, you are our father; we are the clay . . . we are all the work of your hands."³⁵ For the inspired utterance of the Prophet has made it most clear that it is not according to nature, but by grace and by adoption that we call Him Father.

(9) To perceive more exactly that it is not the natural

²⁹ Matt. 10.29.

³⁰ Matt. 6.26.

³¹ John 5.17.

³² John 20.17.

³³ Matt. 6.9.

³⁴ Deut. 32.6.

³⁵ Isa. 64.7.

father only that is called father in the Holy Scriptures, listen to the words of Paul: "For although you have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet you have not many fathers. For in Christ Jesus, through the gospel, did I beget you."³⁶ For it was not because of fleshly procreation, but because of teaching and spiritual generation that Paul was the father of the Corinthians. Listen also to Job: "I was a father to the needy."³⁷ For he called himself father, not for having begotten them, but for caring for them. The Only-begotten Son of God, when He was nailed to the cross in the flesh at the time of His crucifixion, seeing Mary, His own mother according to the flesh, and John, the most beloved disciple, said to him: "Behold thy mother";³⁸ and to Mary: "Behold thy son,"³⁹ teaching her the affection due to him thereafter, and indirectly explaining what is said in Luke: "And his father and mother were marvelling";⁴⁰ this text the heretics seize upon,⁴¹ saying that He was begotten of a man and a woman. Just as Mary is called the mother of John because of her parental affection for him, not because of having begotten him, so Joseph was called the father of Christ, not by reason of begetting Him (for "he did not know her till she brought forth her firstborn son,"⁴² according to the Gospel), but by reason of the care bestowed on His nurture.

(10) Consider what has been said by way of digression as a reminder. But let me add another testimony that God is called the Father of men in an improper sense. When in Isaia God is addressed: "For you are our father, and Abraham has not known us";⁴³ and: "Sara has not given us birth,"⁴⁴ must we inquire still further on this point? But if the Psalmist

³⁶ 1 Cor. 4.15.

³⁷ Job 29.16.

³⁸ John 19.27.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 19.26.

⁴⁰ Luke 2.33.

⁴¹ Sc. Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion.

⁴² Matt. 1.25.

⁴³ Cf. Isa. 63.16.

⁴⁴ Cf. Isa. 51.2.

says: "They shall be troubled at his presence, the father of orphans and the defender of widows,"⁴⁵ is it not manifest that when God is called the father of the orphans who recently lost their own fathers, He is so named, not for having begotten them of Himself, but for caring and shielding them? He is Father of man, then, in an improper sense. But of Christ only is God Father by nature and not by adoption;⁴⁶ and He is Father of men in time, but of Christ before all time, as He Himself says: "And now do thou, Father, glorify me with the glory that I had before the world existed."⁴⁷

(11) We believe, then, in One God, Father, the Unsearchable and Ineffable: whom no man has seen and whom the Only-begotten alone has declared.⁴⁸ For He "who is from God, he has seen God,"⁴⁹ whose face the angels in heaven see always;⁵⁰ but they see each according to the measure of his own rank. The sheer vision of the Father is reserved in its perfection for the Son with the Holy Spirit.

(12) At this point in my discourse I am reminded of the passages mentioned a short time ago, in which God was called the Father of men, and I am greatly amazed at the insensibility of men. For God, with ineffable loving-kindness, deigned to be called Father of men—He in heaven, they upon earth, He the Maker of eternity, they living in time, He, who holds the earth "in the hollow of his hand,"⁵¹ they upon the earth "like grasshoppers."⁵² Yet man, forsaking his heavenly Father, said to the stock: "You are my father";⁵³ and to the stone: "You gave me birth."⁵⁴ This is why, I think, the Psalm says to mankind: "Forget your people and your

⁴⁵ Cf. Ps. 67.5, 6.

⁴⁶ Referring especially to the Arians, who maintain Christ was created in time and was son by adoption and grace.

⁴⁷ John 17.5.

⁴⁸ Cf. John 1.18.

⁴⁹ John 6.46.

⁵⁰ Cf. Matt. 18.10.

⁵¹ Cf. Isa. 40.12.

⁵² *Ibid.* 40.22.

⁵³ Jer. 2.27.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

father's house,"⁵⁵ that is, the father you have chosen and drawn to yourself for your own destruction.

(13) Some have chosen for their father not only stocks and stones, but even Satan himself, the destroyer of souls. To them the Lord in reproof said: "You are doing the work of your father";⁵⁶ since Satan is the father of men not by nature, but by deceit. For just as Paul for his devout teaching was called father of the Corinthians, so too the devil is called father of those who deliberately "keep pace with him."⁵⁷ For we will not tolerate those who perversely interpret the text: "In this we know the children of God and the children of the devil,"⁵⁸ as though there were by nature among men some to be saved and some to be lost. For it is not of necessity but of choice that we come into such holy sonship; nor was it by nature that the traitor Judas was the son of the devil and perdition: otherwise, he would not at first cast out devils in Christ's name; for Satan does not cast out Satan;⁵⁹ nor again, would Paul have been transformed from a persecutor to a herald of the Gospel. But the adoption is voluntary, as John says: "But to as many as received him, he gave power of becoming sons of God, to those who believe in his name."⁶⁰ For not before faith, but by faith, they were deemed worthy, of their own choice, to be made sons of God.

(14) Recognizing this, therefore, let us live spiritually, that we may be deemed worthy of God's adoption: "For whoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."⁶¹ For it will profit us nothing to have gained the title of Christians unless the works also follow, else it may be said to us also: If you were the children of Abraham, you would do the works of Abraham.⁶² For, if we invoke as Father Him who, without

⁵⁵ Ps. 44.11.

⁵⁶ John 8.41.

⁵⁷ Ps. 49.18.

⁵⁸ Cf. 1 John 3.10.

⁵⁹ Cf. Mark 3.23.

⁶⁰ John 1.12.

⁶¹ Rom. 8.14.

⁶² Cf. John 8.39.

respect of persons, judges according to each one's work, let us conduct ourselves with fear during our sojourn here,⁶³ loving "not the world or the things that are in the world"; for, "if anyone loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him."⁶⁴ Therefore, my beloved children, let us offer glory to our Father in heaven by our works, that men may see our good works, and glorify our Father in heaven.⁶⁵ Let us cast all our care upon Him, "for our Father knows what we need."⁶⁶

(15) But while honoring our heavenly Father, let us also honor the "fathers of our flesh,"⁶⁷ since the Lord in the Law and the Prophets has clearly laid this down, saying: "Honor your mother and your father, that it may be well with you, and that you may have a long life in the land."⁶⁸ Let those present who have mothers and fathers give heed to this command. "Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is pleasing to the Lord."⁶⁹ For our Lord did not say: "He who loves father or mother is not worthy of me,"⁷⁰ else what was well written you might interpret falsely out of ignorance, but He added [loves father or mother] "more than me."⁷¹ When our fathers on earth are contrary-minded to our Father in heaven, then we must obey His word; but when, though they hinder not our piety, we are carried away by ingratitude and, forgetting their benefits to us, despise them, then that saying will hold true: "whoever curses his father or mother shall be put to death."⁷²

(16) Among Christians the first virtue of piety is to honor one's parents, to requite the toils of those who begot us, and with all our power to provide for their comfort (for though

⁶³ Cf. 1 Peter 1.17.

⁶⁴ 1 John 2.15.

⁶⁵ Cf. Matt. 5.16.

⁶⁶ Cf. 1 Peter 5.7; Matt. 6.8.

⁶⁷ Heb. 12.9.

⁶⁸ Cf. Exod. 20.12; Deut. 5.16.

⁶⁹ Col. 3.20.

⁷⁰ Matt. 10.37.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Exod. 21.17.

we make the greatest possible return, we will never be able to repay them for the gift of life); that enjoying the ease we afford them, they may confirm us in those blessings which Jacob the supplanter prudently seized; and that our heavenly Father, approving our good purpose, may deem us worthy, with the just, to “shine forth like the sun in the kingdom of our Father,”⁷³ to whom be glory with the Only-begotten, our Savior Jesus Christ, and with the Holy and life-giving Spirit, now and always and for all eternity. Amen.

⁷³ Matt. 13.43.

CATECHESIS VIII

On the Omnipotence of God

*"The great God and the mighty Lord, great in counsel, and mighty in works, the Lord omnipotent, of great name. . ."*¹

(1) By belief "in One God," we cut off all polytheistic error, arming ourselves against the Greeks and all opposition on the part of heretics. By adding "in One God, Father," we combat the Jews who deny the Only-begotten Son of God. For, as I said yesterday, even before explaining the doctrines concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, by the very mention of "Father" we have already implied that He is Father of a Son; that just as we understand that God is, so we may understand that He has a Son. Now to these attributes we add that He is also "Almighty," and this we assert because of Greeks and Jews and all heretics.

(2) Of the Greeks, some have said that God is the soul of the world; others that His power does not extend to earth, but only to heaven. Some, laboring under a similar delusion, pervert the text: "And your faithfulness to the skies,"² and have dared to circumscribe the providence of God by skies and heaven and to alienate from God the things on earth, forgetting the Psalm which says: "If I go up to the heavens, you are there; if I sink to the nether world, you are present there."³ For, if there is nothing higher than heaven, and

¹ Jer. 32.18, 19 (Sept.).

² Ps. 107.5.

³ Ps. 138.8.

the nether world is deeper than the earth, He who rules the lower regions reaches the earth also.

(3) But heretics,⁴ as we said before, do not acknowledge One Almighty God. For He is Almighty who rules over all things and exercises authority over all. They who say that there is one Lord of the soul and another of the body affirm that neither of these is perfect, in that each lacks what the other has. For how is he almighty who has power over the soul, but not over the body? And how is he almighty who has dominion over bodies, but not over spirits? But the Lord confutes them when He says: "Rather be afraid of him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."⁵ For, unless he has power over both, how does the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ subject both to punishment? For how will He be able to take a body that belongs to another and cast it into hell, "unless He first binds the strong man"⁶ and plunders his goods?

(4) The Holy Scripture and the true doctrine know but One God, who has dominion over all things, yet tolerates many things because He so wills. For He rules over idolaters, but out of forbearance endures them; He rules over the heretics also, who reject Him, but puts up with them patiently. He rules over the devil, but tolerates him in His long-suffering; but it is not for want of power, as though defeated, that he endures him, for "he is the beginning of the Lord's creation, made to be mocked,"⁷ not by Himself, for that would be beneath His dignity, but "by the angels"⁸ who were made by Him. He has allowed the devil to live for two reasons, that he might suffer greater shame by defeat, and that men might be crowned with victory. O all-wise providence of God which takes wicked purpose as a basis of salvation for

⁴ Here Cyril is refuting the Manichaeans and those who followed their errors.

⁵ Matt. 10.28.

⁶ Matt. 12.29.

⁷ Job 40.19 (Sept.).

⁸ *Ibid.*

the faithful! For He made use of the unbrotherly purpose of Joseph's brethren to carry out His own dispensation, and allowed them to sell their brother out of hatred, to take thence the occasion to make him king whom He wished. In like fashion He has permitted the devil to wrestle with men, that they who conquer him might be crowned, and after the victory, the devil might suffer greater shame for being defeated by inferiors, while men might gain great glory for having triumphed over him who was once an archangel.

(5) Nothing, therefore, is excluded from the dominion of God, for Scripture says of Him: "All things serve you."⁹ All things indeed are His servants; but one, His Only Son, and one, His Holy Spirit, are outside all these; and all things that serve Him serve their Lord through the One Son in the Holy Spirit. God, then, rules over all things, and in His forbearance endures even murderers and robbers and fornicators, having determined a fixed time for requiting each, that they who, granted a long reprieve, remain impenitent may suffer the greater condemnation. There are kings of men who reign upon the earth, yet not without power from on high. This, of old, Nabuchodonosor knew from experience when he said: "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion endures through all generations."¹⁰

(6) Riches, gold and silver, are not the devil's, as some think, for "the whole world of riches is for the faithful man, but for the unfaithful not a farthing."¹¹ But nothing is more faithless than the devil. God through the Prophet says plainly: "Mine is the silver and mine the gold."¹² Only use it well and there is nothing blameworthy in silver; but when you abuse a good thing and are then unwilling to blame your own conduct, you impiously put the blame on the Creator. One can even be justified by money. "I was hungry, and

⁹ Ps. 118.91.

¹⁰ Dan. 3.100.

¹¹ Prov. 17.6 (Sept.).

¹² Ag. 2.9.

you gave me to eat,"¹³—undoubtedly by the use of money; "I was naked and you covered me,"¹⁴—assuredly by the use of money. Consider too that money can be a door to the heavenly kingdom. "Sell," He says, "what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven."¹⁵

(7) I have said these things because of the heretics who condemn possessions and money and men's bodies. For I wish you neither to be the slaves of riches, nor yet to regard as enemies the things God has given to serve you. Therefore, never say that money is the devil's. For though he says: "To thee will I give all . . . for to me they have been delivered,"¹⁶ one can reject his words, for one need not believe a liar. But perhaps, compelled by the power of Christ's presence, he spoke the truth. For he did not say: "To thee will I give all because they are mine," but because "to me they have been delivered." He did not seize the dominion of them, but he confessed that they had been committed to him, and their disposition, up to a certain point, entrusted to him. Let the exegetes ponder at a suitable time whether his statement is true or false.

(8) There is, then, One God the Father, the Almighty, whom the heretics have dared to flout; for they have dared to flout the Lord Sabaoth, "with his throne upon the cherubim."¹⁷ They have dared to blaspheme the Lord Adonai; they have dared to blaspheme Him who is in the prophets the Almighty God. But for your part worship One, the Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, shunning polytheism and all heresy, saying with Job: "I will call upon the Lord Almighty, who does great things and inscrutable, glorious things and marvelous without number";¹⁸

¹³ Matt. 25.35.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 25.36.

¹⁵ Matt. 19.21.

¹⁶ Luke 4.6.

¹⁷ Cf. Ps. 79.2.

¹⁸ Job 5.8, 9 (Sept.).

and: "For all these things there is honor from the Almighty,"¹⁹
to whom be glory now and forever and ever. Amen.

¹⁹ Cf. Job 37.22, 23 (Sept.).

CATECHESIS IX

On God the Creator

*"Who is this that conceals counsel from me, and keeps words in his heart and thinks to hide from me?"*¹

(1) It is impossible to see God with the eyes of the flesh, for what is incorporeal cannot fall under bodily sight. The Only-begotten Son of God bears witness to this when He says: "No one has at any time seen God."² One might gather from a passage in Ezechiel that Ezechiel saw him, but what does Scripture actually say? He saw "the likeness of the glory of the Lord";³ not the Lord Himself, but the "likeness of His glory" merely, not the glory itself as it really is. Yet, on beholding the likeness of His glory, and not the glory itself, he fell to the earth in fear. But if the vision of the likeness of the glory inspired the prophets with fear and trepidation, any man attempting to look upon God Himself would surely lose his life, according to the text: "No man shall see my face and live."⁴ Therefore, God in His great loving-kindness has spread the heavens as a veil before His own Godhead, that we might not perish. This assertion is not mine, but the prophet's: "If you shall rend the heavens, trembling will seize the mountains before you, and they shall melt away."⁵ But why wonder that Ezechiel fell down on seeing the likeness of the glory? For when Gabriel, the

¹ Job 38.2, 3 (Sept.).

² John 1.18.

³ Ezech. 1.28.

⁴ Exod. 33.20 (Sept.).

⁵ Isa. 63.19.

servant of God, appeared to Daniel,⁶ Daniel was struck with fear at once and fell on his face; and the prophet did not dare to speak until the angel had taken a form like a man. Now, if the sight of Gabriel caused the prophet to tremble, if God had been seen as He is, would not all have perished?

(2) It is impossible, then, to perceive the Divine Nature with bodily eyes; but from His divine works we may gain some impression of His power, according to the words of Solomon: "For from the greatness and the beauty of created things their original author, by analogy, is seen."⁷ Now he did not say that from created things the creator is seen, but he added "by analogy." For so much the greater does God seem to each man, as the man achieves a loftier concept of creatures; and when by deeper contemplation he has elevated his heart, he gains a loftier concept of God.

(3) Learn, then, that it is impossible to comprehend God's nature. The three children in the fiery furnace, singing the praises of God, say: "Blessed are you who look into the depths from your throne upon the cherubim."⁸ Tell me what is the nature of the cherubim, and then consider Him who has His throne upon them. But Ezechiel the prophet has produced a description of them, as far as that is possible, saying that every one has four faces,⁹ one of a man, another of a lion, a third of an eagle, and a fourth of a calf; and that each one has six wings and eyes on every side; and that beneath each is a wheel of four parts. Yet, after this description of the prophet, we still cannot comprehend as we read. But, if we cannot comprehend the throne which he has described, how will we be able to comprehend Him who sits thereon, the invisible and ineffable God? It is impossible to examine closely into the nature of God; but, for His works which we see, we can offer Him praise and glory.

⁶ Cf. Dan. 10.5-18.

⁷ Wisd. 13.5.

⁸ Dan. 3.55.

⁹ Cf. Ezech. 1.6ff.

(4) I say these things to you because of the sequence of the Creed, and because we say: "We believe in One God, Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible"; that we may remember that He who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is the very same who made heaven and earth;¹⁰ that we may be made secure against the aberrations of the impious heretics, who have dared to speak ill of the All-wise Artificer of all this world; they see with eyes of flesh, but the eyes of their understanding are blinded.

(5) For what have they to blame in this vast creation of God? They ought to have been struck with wonder on contemplating the vaulted expanses of the heavens, and to have worshiped Him who established the sky as a dome, who from naturally fluid waters formed the stable substance of the heavens. For God said: "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters."¹¹ God spoke once and it stands and does not fall. The heaven is water, but the bodies fixed therein, sun, moon, and the stars, are of fire. How do the fiery bodies run in the water? If any man has doubts because of the contrary natures of fire and water, let him remember the fire which in Moses' time in Egypt flamed in the hail.¹² Let him consider also the all-wise disposition of God in creation. Since there was to be need of water for the tilling of the soil, He prepared the watery heavens above, that when the region of the earth should need showers to irrigate it, the heavens of their nature would be ready for this very purpose.

(6) What then? Should not a man marvel as he contemplates the sun's structure? For though it appears a small body, it encompasses tremendous power, appearing in the east and sending forth its light even to the west. Its morning rising the Psalmist describes: [the sun] "which comes forth

¹⁰ These words are directed against the old heretics who asserted the world was created by angels, or a demiurge, or by the devil.

¹¹ Gen. 1.6.

¹² Cf. Exod. 9.23, 24.

like the groom from his bridal chamber."¹³ This is a description of its gently beaming and temperate state as it first appears to men, for we often flee its fiery heat when it rides at high noon. But at its rising it is a delight to all, as a bridegroom to look upon. Consider the apt disposition of the sun, or rather of Him whose ordering determined its course; how in summer it is higher in the heavens and makes the days longer, thereby giving men good time for their works, while in winter it contracts its course, that the cold season might not be too long and that the nights, becoming longer, might serve as the repose of men and for the fruitfulness of the earth's products. See too how the days give way to each other in due order, lengthening in summer, growing shorter in winter, but in spring and autumn affording mutually equal intervals; and the nights likewise, so that the Psalmist says: "Day pours out the word to day, and night to night imparts knowledge."¹⁴ For to the heretics, who have no ears, they all but shout, and by their good order they say that there is no other God save their Creator, who fixed their bounds and laid out the universe.

(7) Let no man tolerate those who say that the Creator of light is one, but that of darkness another; for let him remember Isaia saying: "I am the God who made the light, and created the darkness."¹⁵ Why be vexed at this? Why take ill the time given for your rest? A servant would receive no rest from his masters did not the darkness bring a necessary respite. How often, when wearied from the toil of the day, are we refreshed in the night, and he who was yesterday toilworn comes forth vigorous in the morning because of the night's rest. What is more conducive to wisdom than the night, during which we often ponder the things of God, and devote ourselves to the reading and contemplation of the

¹³ Ps. 18.6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 18.3. Some of the arguments would hardly appeal to those not living in temperate climates.

¹⁵ Cf. Isa. 45.7.

sacred Scriptures? When does our mind tend more towards psalmody and prayer? Is this not at night? When do we come oftener to the remembrance of our own sins? Is it not at night? Therefore let us not perversely entertain the thought that God is not the author of darkness; for experience shows that this too is good and most useful.

(8) Men ought to have been astonished and amazed, not only at the structure of the sun and moon, but also at the well-ordered movements of the stars and their unfettered courses, and the timely risings of each of them; how some are signs of summer, others of winter; how some indicate the time for sowing, others the beginning of navigation; and man, sitting in his ship and sailing amid the boundless waves, guides his ship by observing the stars. For concerning these things Scripture well says: "Let them serve as signs and for the fixing of seasons, days, and years,"¹⁶ not for astrological fables of birth. Again, notice how kind God has been to us in gradually increasing the light of day; for we do not see the sun rising at once, but a little light runs up beforehand, that the pupil of the eye by previous trial may be able to look upon its stronger rays. Consider also how He has cheered the darkness of the night by the bright rays of the moon.

(9) "Has the rain a father; or who has begotten the drops of dew?"¹⁷ Who has condensed the air into clouds and bid them support the waters of the rain showers, sometimes bringing the gleaming golden clouds from the north, sometimes making them uniform in appearance, and again changing them into various types of circles and other shapes? "Who can count the clouds in his wisdom?"¹⁸ Therefore Job says of Him: "He knows the differences of the clouds,"¹⁹ "and has bent the heaven to earth";²⁰ and "who counts the clouds in

¹⁶ Gen. 1.15.

¹⁷ Job 38.28.

¹⁸ Cf. *Ibid.* 38.37.

¹⁹ Job 37.16 (Sept.).

²⁰ Job 38.37 (Sept.).

his wisdom,"²¹ and "the cloud is not rent beneath him."²² For though so many measures of water rest upon the clouds, they are not rent, but with all due order they come down upon the earth. Who is He who brings forth the winds from their stores?²³ Who is He, as we said above, "who has begotten the drops of dew"? "Out of whose womb comes the ice?"²⁴ For though its substance is watery, it has the property of stone. Sometimes the water becomes "snow like wool";²⁵ sometimes it serves Him who "strews frost like ashes";²⁶ sometimes it is changed into a stony substance, since "He governs the water as he will."²⁷ In nature it is uniform, but in operation manifold. Water in vines becomes wine, that gladdens men's hearts;²⁸ and in the olives, oil, which causes the face of man to shine; it is transformed also into bread which "fortifies the hearts of men,"²⁹ and into all kinds of created fruits.

(10) What should have followed from these marvels? That the Creator be blasphemed or rather that He be worshiped? And so far I have not spoken of the secrets of His wisdom. Just consider the spring, and the various kinds of flowers, so like and yet so diverse, the deep red of the rose and the pure white of the lily. Yet these come from the same rain and the same earth; who makes them differ? Who forms them? Just observe the neat precision: from the one substance of the tree, there is a part for shelter and a part for divers fruits, and the Artificer is One. A part of the vine is for burning, another for shoots, another for foliage, another for tendrils, another, finally, for clusters. Marvel too at the thickness of the knots that circle the reed, the work of the Artificer.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Job 26.8 (Sept.).

²³ Cf. Ps. 134.7.

²⁴ Job 38.29.

²⁵ Ps. 147.16.

²⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*

²⁷ Job 37.10 (Sept.).

²⁸ Cf. Ps. 103.15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

From the same earth come forth creeping things, wild beasts, cattle, trees, food, gold, silver, brass, iron, stone. From the one nature of the waters comes the substance of swimming things and of birds, and as the fish swim in the waters so the birds fly in the air.

(11) "This great and wide sea; in it there are creeping things without number."³⁰ Who can describe the beauty of the fishes therein? Who can describe the greatness of the whales and the nature of the amphibious animals, how they live on the dry land and in the waters? Who can describe the depth and breadth of the sea or the shock of its tumultuous waves? The sea stays within its confines because of Him who said: "This far shall you come but no farther, and here shall your proud waves be stilled!"³¹ It clearly reveals the decree imposed upon it, when running out it leaves on the sands a distinct line marked by its waves, as though to signify to those who see it that it has not transgressed its appointed bounds.

(12) Who can explore the nature of the birds of the air, how some are equipped with melodious song, how others have varicolored wings; and others, flying aloft into mid-air, like the hawk stay motionless? For by the Divine command: "The hawk spreading his wings, stays motionless, looking down towards the south."³² What man can observe the eagle's lofty flight? But if you cannot comprehend the flight of the most senseless of the birds, how will you comprehend the Maker of all things?

(13) What man knows even the names of all wild beasts? Who can discern the nature of each of them? But if we do not know the mere names of the wild beasts, how shall we comprehend their Maker? God's command was but one which said: "Let the earth bring forth all kinds of living creatures: cattle, crawling creatures and wild animals";³³ and different

³⁰ Ps. 103.25 (Sept.).

³¹ Job 38.11.

³² Job 39.26 (Sept.).

³³ Gen. 1.24.

natures of animals sprang forth from the one earth at a single command—the gentle sheep and the carnivorous lion—and the various tendencies of irrational animals that resemble various human characteristics. Thus the fox typifies the craftiness of men, the snake the venomous treachery of friends, and the neighing horse the wanton young man. There is the busy ant to rouse the indolent and sluggish; for when a man spends an idle youth, then he is instructed by the irrational creatures, being chided by the sacred Scripture which says: “Go to the ant, O sluggard, and considering her ways, emulate her and become wiser than she.”³⁴ For when you observe her treasuring up food for herself in good season, imitate her, and treasure up for yourself the fruits of good works for the world to come. And again: “Go to the bee and learn how industrious she is”;³⁵ how, hovering about flowers of all kinds, she gathers the honey for your use, that you also, by ranging over the sacred Scriptures, may lay hold of salvation for yourself, and, sated with the Scriptures, you may say: “How sweet to my palate are your promises, sweeter than honey to my mouth!”³⁶

(14) Does not, then, the Artificer deserve rather to be glorified? Granted you do not know the nature of all things, are the created things thereby useless? Can you know the efficacy of all herbs, or the benefit coming from every animal? Already even from poisonous vipers have come antidotes for the safety of men. But you will say: “The snake is terrible”; fear the Lord and he will not be able to harm you. “A scorpion has power to sting”; fear the Lord and it will not sting you. “A lion is bloodthirsty”; fear the Lord and he will lie down beside you, as by Daniel.³⁷ Yet the powers of the animals are truly wonderful; some, like the scorpion, have their attack in their sting; the strength of others is in their

³⁴ Prov. 6.6 (Sept.).

³⁵ *Ibid.* 6.8 (Sept.).

³⁶ Ps. 118.103.

³⁷ Cf. Dan. 6.18 (Sept.).

fangs; still others fight with their claws, and the might of the basilisk is in its aspect. From the variety of His workmanship, therefore, learn the power of the Creator.

(15) But perhaps you do not know these things; you have nothing in common with the creatures outside of you. Then enter into yourself, and gain knowledge of the Creator from your own nature. What is there to blame in the constitution of your body? Be master of yourself and no evil proceeds from your members. From the beginning Adam was unclothed in paradise with Eve; but it was not because of his members that he deserved to be cast out. Therefore, the members are not the cause of sin, but they who abuse their members; and the Maker of the members is wise. Who prepared the recesses of the womb for child-bearing? Who gave life to the lifeless thing within it? "Who has knit us together with sinews and bones, and clothed us with skin and flesh"³⁸ and as soon as the child is born brings forth fountains of milk from the breasts? How does the babe grow into a boy, and the boy into a youth, and then into a man, and being the same, pass into an old man, though no one perceives the precise change from day to day? How is our food partly changed into blood, partly separated into waste matter, partly transformed into flesh? Who causes the heart to beat incessantly? Who so wisely guarded the soft eyes with the covering of eyelids? Regarding the intricate and marvelous structure of the eyes, the voluminous books of physicians hardly give an adequate explanation. Who imparts one and the same breath to the whole body? You see, then, the Artificer; you see the wise Creator.

(16) My discourse has dwelt at length on these points (passing over many, indeed countless, other matters, especially things incorporeal and invisible), that you may loathe those who blaspheme the wise and good Artificer; and further, from what has been said and read and from what you can

³⁸ Cf. Job 11.11.

discover and ponder, that by analogy from the greatness and the beauty of created things,³⁹ you may have a concept of the Creator; and devoutly bending the knee before the Maker of the universe, of things sensible and intelligible, visible and invisible, with grateful and pious tongue, with unwearied lips you may praise God, saying: "How manifold are your works, O Lord! In wisdom you have wrought them all";⁴⁰ for to Thee is due honor, glory, and majesty, now and forever and ever. Amen.

³⁹ Cf. Wisd. 13.5.

⁴⁰ Ps. 103.24.

CATECHESIS X

On One Lord, Jesus Christ

“For even if there are what are called gods, whether in heaven or earth . . . yet for us there is only one God, the Father from whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him.”¹

(1) Those who have been taught to believe in One God Father Almighty ought to believe also in His Only-begotten Son. For he that denies the Son has not the Father.² “I am the door,”³ Jesus says; “no one comes to the Father, but through me.”⁴ If you deny the Door, the knowledge of the Father is closed to you. “No one knows the Father, except the Son, and him to whom the Son chooses to reveal him.”⁵ If you deny Him who reveals, you remain in ignorance. Then there is the Gospel text: “He who is unbelieving towards the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God rests upon him.”⁶ For the Father is wrathful when His Only-begotten Son is disregarded. The dishonorable treatment of a mere soldier is a grievous matter for his king; when a nobler attendant or friend is treated dishonorably, then his anger becomes still greater; but if anyone should treat with contumely the king’s only-begotten son, who will appease the father’s ensuing indignation?

¹ 1 Cor. 8.5, 6.

² Cf. 1 John 2.23.

³ John 10.9.

⁴ John 14.6.

⁵ Cf. Matt. 11.27.

⁶ John 3.36.

(2) If anyone wishes to serve God piously, let him worship the Son; otherwise, the Father will not accept his service. The Father spoke aloud from heaven, saying: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."⁷ The Father was well pleased in His Son; unless you also are well pleased, you will not have life. Do not be led astray by the Jews who say guilefully: "There is one God alone." But with the knowledge that God is One, know that there is also an Only-begotten Son of God. I am not the first to say this, but the Psalmist in the person of the Son says: "The Lord said to me, 'You are my son.'"⁸ Therefore attend not to what the Jews say, but to what the Prophets say. Are you surprised if they who stoned and killed the Prophets disregard the words of the Prophets?

(3) Believe in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God.⁹ We say, "One Lord Jesus Christ," that His Sonship may be "Only-begotten"; we say "One," that you may not suppose another; we say "One," that you may not impiously distribute among many sons the many names of His power. For He is called a Door; regard this not as meaning a wooden door, but rather a spiritual, living Door, distinguishing those who enter. He is called a Way,¹⁰ but not that trodden by men's feet, but one which leads to the Father in heaven. He is called a Sheep;¹¹ not a senseless one, but that which cleanses the world from sin by its precious blood, and when led before its shearer knows when to be silent. This Sheep again is called a Shepherd, who says: "I am the [good] shepherd";¹² a Sheep because of His human nature, a Shepherd because of the loving-kindness of His Godhead. Know

⁷ Matt. 3.17.

⁸ Ps. 2.7.

⁹ Cyril stresses the oneness of Christ under His many titles not only to combat heretics but to strengthen the faith of his hearers. He explains that Christ is not divided in any way, but that His many titles reflect our needs.

¹⁰ John 14.6.

¹¹ Acts 8.32; Isa. 53.7.

¹² Cf. John 10.11.

too that there are spiritual sheep, for He says to the Apostles: "Behold I am sending you forth like sheep in the midst of wolves."¹³ Again, He is called a Lion;¹⁴ not a devourer of men, but, as it were, showing by this title His kingly, strong, and resolute nature. Then too, He is called a Lion in opposition to the lion, our adversary, who roars and devours those who have been deceived.¹⁵ For the Savior came, not having changed His own gentle nature, and yet as the mighty lion of the tribe of Juda, saving them that believe, but trampling upon the adversary. He is called a Stone;¹⁶ not a lifeless one, cut out by human hands, but the "chief corner stone" in whom he who will believe "shall not be put to shame."¹⁷

(4) He is called Christ;¹⁸ not as having been anointed by human hands, but anointed eternally by the Father to His High-Priesthood over men. He is called Dead;¹⁹ not as abiding among the dead, as all in the nether world, but alone "free among the dead."²⁰ He is called Son of Man;²¹ not as having had His generation from the earth, as each one of us, but as "coming upon the clouds of heaven"²² to judge the living and the dead. He is called Lord;²³ not improperly, as those among men are so called. He is fittingly called Jesus,²⁴ having the title from His salutary healing. He is called Son,²⁵ not as having been advanced by adoption, but naturally begotten. Many, therefore, are the titles of our Savior. That His many titles may not cause you to think of many sons, and that you may meet the errors of the heretics, who say that Christ is one,

¹³ Matt. 10.16.

¹⁴ Gen. 49.9.

¹⁵ Cf. 1 Peter 5.8.

¹⁶ 1 Peter 2.4.

¹⁷ Cf. *Ibid.* 6.

¹⁸ Matt. 1.16.

¹⁹ Apoc. 1.18.

²⁰ Cf. Ps. 87.6.

²¹ Matt. 16.13.

²² Matt. 24.30.

²³ Luke 2.11.

²⁴ Matt. 1.21.

²⁵ Matt. 3.17.

Jesus another,²⁶ the Door another, and so on, the faith fore-arms you, saying well: "in One Lord Jesus Christ." For though the titles are many, their subject is one.

(5) The Savior comes in various forms to each man for his profit. For to those who lack joy, He becomes a Vine;²⁷ to those who wish to enter in, He is a Door;²⁸ for those who must offer prayers, He is a mediating High-Priest.²⁹ Again, to those in sin, He becomes a Sheep, to be sacrificed on their behalf. He becomes "all things to all men,"³⁰ remaining in His own nature what He is. For so remaining, and possessing the truly unchangeable dignity of the Sonship, as the best of physicians and a sympathetic teacher, He adapts Himself to our infirmities. He is Lord in truth, not having advanced to the Lordship, but possessing that dignity by nature. He is called Lord, not improperly as we are, but in very truth He is Lord, since by the decree of the Father He has the Lordship over His own works. Our lordship is over those equal in honor and subject to the same affections, often even over our elders, and often a youth is the master of aged servants. But in our Lord, Jesus Christ, the Lordship is not of this kind, but first He is Maker, then Lord; first, by the will of the Father, He made all things; then He assumed the Lordship over the things made.

(6) Christ the Lord was born in the city of David.³¹ Know, too, that Christ is Lord with the Father even before His incarnation, and hence accept what is said, not only by faith, but also with proof from the Old Testament. Go to the first book, Genesis. God says: "Let us make mankind," not "in My image," but "in our image."³² And, after Adam was

²⁶ Valentinians and others distinguished between Jesus and Christ (Iren. 3.16.8).

²⁷ John 15.1.

²⁸ John 10.7.

²⁹ 1 Tim. 2.5; Heb. 7.26.

³⁰ 1 Cor. 9.22.

³¹ Luke 2.11.

³² Gen. 1.26.

made, Scripture says: "God created man. . . . In the image of God he created him."³³ For He did not restrict the dignity of the Godhead to the Father alone, but included the Son also; that it might be shown that man is not the work of God alone, but of our Lord Jesus Christ also. This Lord who cooperates with the Father worked with Him also in the case of Sodom, according to the Scripture: "The Lord poured down on Sodom and Gomorrah sulphur from the Lord out of heaven."³⁴ This Lord afterwards appeared to Moses, insofar as he could behold Him.³⁵ For the Lord is kind, ever adapting Himself to our infirmities.

(7) To realize that it is He who appeared³⁶ to Moses take the testimony of Paul: "For they drank from the spiritual rock that followed them, but the rock was Christ";³⁷ and again: "By faith he left Egypt";³⁸ and thereafter: "Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of the Egyptians."³⁹ Moses says to Him: "Show me yourself."⁴⁰ You see that then also the prophets saw Christ, that is, in the measure each was able. "Show me yourself, that I may see you clearly."⁴¹ But He said: "No one sees me and still lives."⁴² Therefore, because no one could see the face of the Godhead and live, He assumed the face of human nature, that seeing this we might live. Yet, when He wished to show even this with a little majesty, at the time when "his face

³³ *Ibid.* 27.

³⁴ Gen. 19.24.

³⁵ Exod. 3.2, 6; 34.5, 6.

³⁶ The various divine apparitions recorded in the Old Testament at an early date were attributed to the Son of God by way of anticipation of the incarnation, but always "under the likeness of his glory" (cf. *Cat.* 9.1). Cyril wishes to supply arguments to his candidates against the Jews.

³⁷ 1 Cor. 10.4.

³⁸ Heb. 11.27.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 26.

⁴⁰ Exod. 33.13 (Sept.).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.* 20.

shone as the sun,"⁴³ the disciples fell to the earth terrified.⁴⁴ Now if His bodily countenance, shining not according to the full power of Him who wrought, but in the measure the disciples could bear, terrified them and even thus they could not bear it, how could anyone gaze upon the majesty of the Godhead? It is a great thing you desire, O Moses, the Lord says; and I approve your insatiable longing and "this word will I do"⁴⁵ for you, but according to your capacity. "Behold I will set you in the hollow of the rock";⁴⁶ for as you are small, you will lodge in a small place.

(8) Now here please note carefully what I am to say, because of the Jews. For it is our purpose to demonstrate that the Lord, Jesus Christ, was with the Father. The Lord then said to Moses: "I will make all my beauty pass before you, and in your presence I will pronounce my name, 'Lord.'"⁴⁷ Being Himself the Lord, what Lord does He proclaim? You see how in a veiled manner He was teaching the holy doctrine of Father and Son. Again, in what follows, it is written in express terms: "Having come down in a cloud, the Lord stood with him there and proclaimed his name, 'Lord.' Thus the Lord passed before him and cried out, 'The Lord, the Lord, merciful and gracious, slow to anger and rich in kindness and fidelity, and guarding justice and continuing his kindness for a thousand generations, and forgiving wickedness and crime and sin.'"⁴⁸ And thereafter: "Moses at once bowed down to the ground in worship"⁴⁹ before the Lord proclaiming the Father, and said: "O Lord, do come along in our company."⁵⁰

(9) This is the first proof, and now for a second clear

⁴³ Matt. 17.2.

⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 6.

⁴⁵ Exod. 33.17.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 22.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 19 (Sept.).

⁴⁸ Cf. Exod. 34.5-7.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 8.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 9.

proof: "The Lord said to my Lord: 'Sit at my right hand.'" ⁵¹ The Lord says this to the Lord, not to a servant, but to the Lord of all things and His own Son, to whom He has subjected all things. ⁵² "But when He says all things are subject to him, undoubtedly he is excepted, who has subjected all things to him": ⁵³ "that God may be all in all." ⁵⁴ The Only-begotten Son is Lord of all things, yet is the obedient Son of the Father, for He did not seize the Lordship but received it by nature, of the Father's own will. For neither did the Son seize it, nor the Father begrudge imparting it. He it is who says: "All things have been delivered to me by my Father," ⁵⁵ delivered to Me not as though I lacked them before; and I keep them well, not despoiling Him who has given them.

(10) The Son of God is the Lord, the Lord who was born in Bethlehem of Judaea, according to the words of the angel to the shepherds: "I bring you good news of great joy . . . for there has been born to you today in the town of David Christ the Lord." ⁵⁶ Of Him an Apostle elsewhere says: "He sent his word to the children of Israel, preaching peace through Jesus Christ who is Lord of all." ⁵⁷ When he says "of all," exclude nothing from His lordship, for whether they be angels or archangels "or dominations or principalities," ⁵⁸ or any other created thing named by the Apostles, all are subjected to the lordship of the Son. He is Lord of angels, as you have it in the Gospel: "Then the devil left him; and behold, angels came and ministered to him." ⁵⁹ For Scripture does not say that they helped Him, but that they ministered to Him, a function belonging to servants. When He was

⁵¹ Ps. 109.1.

⁵² Heb. 2.8.

⁵³ 1 Cor. 15.27.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 28.

⁵⁵ Matt 11.27.

⁵⁶ Luke 2.10, 11.

⁵⁷ Acts 10.36.

⁵⁸ Col. 1.16.

⁵⁹ Matt. 4.11.

born of a virgin Gabriel served Him, having received his service as his own special privilege.⁶⁰ When He was about to go into Egypt, that He might destroy the idols of Egypt,⁶¹ again, "an angel appeared in a dream to Joseph."⁶² When He rose again after His crucifixion, an angel proclaimed the good tidings, and as a good servant said to the women: "Go quickly and tell his disciples that he has risen; and behold, he goes before you into Galilee; . . . Behold, I have foretold it to you."⁶³ As though he were to say: I have not disobeyed my command; I bear witness to the fact that I have told you; that if you disregard it, the blame may not be on me, but on those who have disregarded it. This, then, is the one Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the passage just read says: "For even if there are what are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth," and so on, "yet for us there is only one God, the Father from whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him."⁶⁴

(11) He is called by two names, Jesus Christ; Jesus because He is a Savior, Christ because He is a Priest. With this in mind the divinely inspired prophet Moses gave these two titles to two men eminent above all, changing the name of his own successor in the sovereignty, Auses, to Jesus,⁶⁵ and giving to his own brother, Aaron, the surname Christ,⁶⁶ that through these two chosen men he might represent at once the High Priesthood and the Kingship of the One Jesus Christ who was to come. For Christ is a High Priest, like Aaron, since He "did not glorify himself with the high priesthood, but he who spoke to Him, 'Thou art a priest forever, according to the order of Melchisedec.'"⁶⁷ But

⁶⁰ Luke 1.16.

⁶¹ Cf. Isa. 19.1.

⁶² Matt. 2.13.

⁶³ Matt. 28.7.

⁶⁴ 1 Cor. 8.5, 6.

⁶⁵ Num. 13.17.

⁶⁶ Cf. Lev. 4.5 (Sept.).

⁶⁷ Heb. 5.5, 6.

Jesus, son of Nave, was a type of Him in many things; for when he began to rule the people, he began from the Jordan;⁶⁸ thence also did Christ begin to preach the Gospel after He was baptized.⁶⁹ The son of Nave appoints the twelve to divide the inheritance;⁷⁰ and Jesus sends forth the twelve Apostles, heralds of truth, into the whole world.⁷¹ He who was the type saved Rahab, the harlot, who had believed;⁷² the True Jesus on the other hand says: Behold: "the publicans and the harlots are entering the kingdom of God before you."⁷³ With but a shout, the walls of Jericho collapsed in the time of the type;⁷⁴ and because of these words of Jesus: "There will not be left here one stone upon another,"⁷⁵ the temple of the Jews just opposite us is fallen; not that this sentence was the cause of its ruin, but rather the sin of the transgressors.

(12) There is One Lord Jesus Christ, a wonderful name, proclaimed beforehand indirectly by the prophets. For Isaia the prophet says: "Your savior comes! Here is his reward with him."⁷⁶ Among the Hebrews, "Jesus" is interpreted Savior; for the prophetic gift, foreseeing the spirit of the Jews bent upon the slaying of the Lord, veiled His name, that they might not know it clearly beforehand and plot against Him more readily. He was openly called Jesus, not by men, but by an angel, coming not of his own authority, but by the power of God, and saying to Joseph: "Do not be afraid to take to thee Mary thy wife, for that which is begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit. And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus";⁷⁷ and giving the

68 Jos. 3.1.

69 Matt. 3.13.

70 Jos. 14.1.

71 Matt. 10.5.

72 Jos. 6.25; Heb. 11.31.

73 Matt. 21.31.

74 Jos. 6.20.

75 Matt. 24.2.

76 Isa. 62.11.

77 Matt. 1.20, 21.

reason for this name, he straightway adds: "For he shall save his people from their sins."⁷⁸ Consider how He who was not yet born could have a people, unless He were in being before He was born. This the prophet says in His person: "From my mother's womb he gave me my name";⁷⁹ because the angel foretold that He would be called Jesus. Again, concerning the plots of Herod, he says: "He . . . concealed me in the shadow of his arm."⁸⁰

(13) Therefore, according to the Hebrews, Jesus means Savior, but in the Greek tongue, "the Healer"; inasmuch as He is both healer of bodies and physician of spirits, curing the blind of body and bringing light to minds; healing those visibly lame and guiding the steps of sinners to repentance, He says to the paralytic: "Sin no more,"⁸¹ and: "Take up thy pallet and walk."⁸² Because the body was palsied through the sin of the soul, He first healed the soul, that He might then extend the healing to the body also. Therefore, if anyone is sick in soul because of sin, he has a Physician; if any man here be of little faith, let him say to Him: "Help my belief."⁸³ If any man is beset with bodily ailments, let him not be diffident but rather draw near—for He heals these ills also—and know that Jesus is the Christ.

(14) For the Jews grant that He is Jesus, but deny that He is also Christ. For this reason, the Apostle says: "Who is the liar but he who denies that Jesus is the Christ?"⁸⁴ But Christ is a High Priest, having "an everlasting priesthood";⁸⁵ neither having begun His priesthood in time, nor having any successor in His High Priesthood, as you have heard in Church on the Lord's day when we were discoursing on the

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Isa. 49.1.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 2.

⁸¹ John 5.14.

⁸² *Ibid.* 8.

⁸³ Mark 9.23.

⁸⁴ 1 John 2.22.

⁸⁵ Heb. 7.24.

words "according to the order of Melchisedec."⁸⁶ He did not receive the High Priesthood through bodily succession, nor was he anointed with man-prepared oil, but before all ages by the Father; and He so far surpasses the others as He is made a priest with an oath. "Others indeed were made priests without an oath, but he with an oath through him who said unto him: The Lord hath sworn and will not repent."⁸⁷ The will of the Father in itself was sufficient assurance, but as a double measure of assurance, with the will there follows also the oath: "That by two unchangeable things, in which it is impossible for God to deceive, we may have the strongest comfort"⁸⁸ for our faith, who receive Christ Jesus the Son of God.

(15) This Christ, when He came, the Jews denied,⁸⁹ though the devils confessed Him.⁹⁰ His forefather David was not ignorant of Him when he said: "I will place a lamp for my anointed."⁹¹ Some have interpreted "lamp" as the splendor of prophecy; others have understood by the lamp the flesh He assumed of the Virgin, according to the words of the Apostle: "But we carry this treasure in vessels of clay."⁹² The Prophet was not ignorant of Him when he said: "And declaring his Christ to men."⁹³ Moses also knew Him, and Isaia and Jeremia as well; none of the prophets was ignorant of Him. Even the devils acknowledged Him, for He rebuked them and Scripture adds: "Because they knew that he was the Christ."⁹⁴ The Chief Priests did not know Him, and the devils confessed Him; the Chief Priests did not know Him, and the Samaritan woman proclaimed Him, saying: "Come

⁸⁶ Ps. 109.4.

⁸⁷ Heb. 7.20, 21.

⁸⁸ Heb. 6.18.

⁸⁹ John 19.5.

⁹⁰ Luke 4.41.

⁹¹ Ps. 131.17.

⁹² 2 Cor. 4.7.

⁹³ Amos 4.13 (Sept.).

⁹⁴ Luke 4.41.

and see a man who has told me all that I have ever done. Is he not the Christ?"⁹⁵

(16) This is Jesus Christ who came "as high priest of the good things to come,"⁹⁶ who, in the lavishness of His Godhead, imparted His own title to all of us. For kings among men possess the royal title unshared with others, but Christ Jesus, being the Son of God, has vouchsafed that we be called "Christians." But someone will say: the name "Christians" is new and unheard of until now, and new things are often objected to because of their strangeness. The Prophet anticipated this objection when he said: "But my servants shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon the earth."⁹⁷ Let us ask the Jews: Do you serve the Lord, or not? Show me, therefore, your new name; for you were called "Jews" and "Israelites" in the time of Moses and the other prophets, and after the return from Babylon, and up to the present day; where, then, is your new name? But we, since we serve the Lord, have that new name, new indeed, but the new name "which shall be blessed upon the earth."⁹⁸ This name has taken hold of the world; for while the Jews are within the bounds of a certain region, the Christians reach to the ends of the earth; for what is proclaimed is the Name of the Only-begotten Son of God.

(17) Rest assured that the Apostles knew and preached the Name of Christ, or rather, they had Christ Himself within them. Paul says to his hearers: "Do you seek a proof of the Christ who speaks in me?"⁹⁹ Paul proclaims Christ. Now who is this? It is His former persecutor. O mighty wonder! He who formerly persecuted Him, himself preaches Christ. Why? Was it that he was won over by bribery? But there was no one to persuade him thus. Was it that he saw Him

⁹⁵ John 4.29.

⁹⁶ Heb. 9.11.

⁹⁷ Isa. 65.15, 16 (Sept.).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ 2 Cor. 13.3.

present on earth and was moved by shame? He had already ascended into heaven. He went forth to persecute and, after three days, the persecutor is a preacher in Damascus. By what power? Others call upon friends to testify for friends; I have offered you a witness who was once an enemy, and do you still doubt? Great, indeed, is the testimony of Peter and John, yet open to suspicion, because they were His friends. But when he who was formerly His enemy afterwards dies for His sake, who can entertain doubts about the truth?

(18) At this point in my discourse I confess my amazement at the wise dispensation of the Holy Spirit, in limiting the Epistles of the others to a small number, but granting the grace to Paul, the former persecutor, to write fourteen. For it was not as though Peter or John were less than Paul that He withheld the gift in their case—God forbid!—but that His doctrine might be beyond question, He gave the grace to the former enemy and persecutor to write more, that thus we might all be confirmed in our faith. Indeed, all were astonished at Paul and said: “Is not this he who used to make havoc” aforetime “and who has come here for the purpose of taking us in bonds to Jerusalem?”¹⁰⁰ Do not be astonished, Paul says; “I know that ‘it is hard’ for me ‘to kick against the goad.’¹⁰¹ I know that ‘I am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God,’¹⁰² but ‘I acted ignorantly.’¹⁰³ For I considered the preaching of Christ to be the destruction of the Law, for I did not know that He came ‘to fulfill the Law, not to destroy it.’¹⁰⁴ But ‘the grace of our Lord has abounded beyond measure’¹⁰⁵ in me.”

(19) There are many true testimonies, my dear brethren, concerning Christ. The Father from heaven bears witness

¹⁰⁰ Acts 9.21.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 5.

¹⁰² 1 Cor. 15.9.

¹⁰³ 1 Tim. 1.13.

¹⁰⁴ Matt. 5.17.

¹⁰⁵ 1 Tim. 1.14.

concerning the Son;¹⁰⁶ the Holy Spirit, descending in a bodily shape, in the form of a dove;¹⁰⁷ the Archangel Gabriel, announcing the good tidings to Mary.¹⁰⁸ The Virgin Mother of God is His witness;¹⁰⁹ the blessed place of the manger is His witness.¹¹⁰ Egypt bears witness to Him, having received Him when still young in body.¹¹¹ Simeon is a witness, who took Him in his arms and said: "Now thou dost dismiss thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word, in peace; because my eyes have seen thy salvation."¹¹² Anna, a prophetess, a most religious widow of austere life, bears witness to Him.¹¹³ A witness also is John the Baptist, the greatest of the prophets and the inaugurator of the New Testament, and, in a way, linking in himself the Old and the New Testaments.¹¹⁴ Among rivers, the Jordan bears witness;¹¹⁵ among seas, the Sea of Tiberias.¹¹⁶ The blind, the lame, the dead brought back to life bear witness to Him;¹¹⁷ the devils also, saying: "What have we to do with thee, Jesus?" We "know who thou art, the Holy One of God."¹¹⁸ The winds, calmed at His command, bear witness;¹¹⁹ the five loaves, multiplied for five thousand.¹²⁰ His witness is the holy wood of the cross, seen among us even to this day, and by those who have taken portions thereof, from hence filling almost the whole world. His witness is the palm tree in the valley which supplied

106 Mark 3.17; 17.5.

107 Luke 3.22.

108 Luke 1.27-38.

109 *Ibid.* 27. "The Virgin Mother of God": the Greek *theotokos*, defined against Nestorius at Chalcedon.

110 Luke 2.7.

111 Matt. 2.14.

112 Luke 2.38-41.

113 *Ibid.* 36-38.

114 John 1.15.

115 Matt. 3.13.

116 John 6.1.

117 Matt. 11.5.

118 Mark 1.24.

119 Matt. 8.26, 27.

120 Matt. 14.16-21.

branches to the children who shouted His praises.¹²¹ Gethsemane is His witness, all but showing Judas still, to those who understand. This holy mount of Golgotha, conspicuous in its elevation, bears witness to Him.¹²² The Holy Sepulchre bears witness, and the stone which lies there even to this day.¹²³ A witness to Him is the sun now shining, which, at the time of our Savior's Passion, suffered eclipse;¹²⁴ and the darkness, which then lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour;¹²⁵ and the light, which shone from the ninth hour until evening. The Holy Mount of Olives, from which He ascended to the Father, bears witness.¹²⁶ The rain-bearing clouds which received their Lord bear witness;¹²⁷ and the heavenly gates, of which the Psalmist says: "Lift up, O gates, your lintels; reach up, you ancient portals, that the king of glory may come in!"¹²⁸ His former enemies bear witness, one of whom is blessed Paul, who, though His enemy for a while, served Him for a long time. The twelve Apostles are His witnesses, who preached the truth not only in words, but by their own torments and deaths. The shadow of Peter is a witness, healing the sick in the name of Christ;¹²⁹ and the handkerchiefs and aprons, which of old worked cures through Paul by the power of Christ.¹³⁰ The Persians and Goths and all the gentile converts bear witness, by dying for the sake of Him whom they did not see with the eyes of the flesh. The devils, who even to this day are driven out by the faithful, bear witness to Him.

(20) So many and diverse, and still more than these, are the witnesses of Christ; can it be that faith in Christ, thus

¹²¹ John 12.13.

¹²² Matt. 27.33.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 60.

¹²⁴ Cf. Luke 23.45.

¹²⁵ Cf. Matt. 27.45.

¹²⁶ Cf. Acts 1.12.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 9.

¹²⁸ Ps. 23.7.

¹²⁹ Cf. Acts 5.15.

¹³⁰ Cf. Acts 19.12.

witnessed, will be hereafter denied? Therefore, if any man did not believe before, let him now believe; but if any man believed before, let him receive a greater increase of faith, believing in our Lord Jesus Christ; and let him realize whose name he bears. You are called a Christian; be careful of that name; let not our Lord Jesus Christ be blasphemed through you; but rather, let your good works shine before men, that they who see them may glorify in Christ Jesus our Lord the Father who is in heaven,¹³¹ to whom be glory, now and forever and ever. Amen.

¹³¹ Cf. Matt. 5.16.

CATECHESIS XI

On the Only-begotten Son of God, Born of the Father before all Ages, True God, through whom All Things Were Made

“God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in times past to the fathers in the prophets, last of all in these days has spoken to us in his Son.”¹

(1) In yesterday’s discourse we gave adequate expression, as far as we could, to the hope we have in Jesus Christ. Yet we must not simply believe in Jesus Christ nor accept Him as one of many who are improperly called Christs. Though there were figurative Christs, He is the true Christ, not raised to the priesthood by advancement among men, but possessing the dignity of the priesthood eternally from the Father. For this reason the Faith, guarding against our supposing Him to be one of the ordinary Christs, adds to the creed we profess the words: “in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God.”

(2) Again, when you hear “Son,” do not think of Him as an adopted Son, but a Son by nature, an Only-begotten Son, having no brother. He is called Only-begotten because, in the dignity of the Godhead and His generation from the Father, He has no brother. We call Him Son of God not of ourselves, but because the Father Himself named Christ His Son. For the name given to their children by fathers is a true one.

(3) Our Lord Jesus Christ put on man’s nature, but He was not known by the many. Wishing to teach what was not

¹ Heb. 1.1, 2.

known, He gathered His disciples together and asked: "Who do men say the Son of Man is?"² He was not seeking vain glory, but wished to show them the truth, that they, living with God, the Only-begotten Son of God, might not look down upon Him as a mere man. When they said that some said Elias and others Jeremia,³ He said to them: "They who know not are excusable; but you, My Apostles, who in My Name cleanse the lepers, cast out devils, and raise the dead to life, you ought not to be ignorant of Him, by whom you work these wonders." When all were silent (for this lesson was beyond man's powers), Peter, the leader of the Apostles and chief herald of the Church, inventing no words, nor following human reasoning, but enlightened in mind by the Father, said to Him: "Thou art the Christ"; and not that merely, but: "the Son of the living God."⁴ At once a blessing follows his declaration (for truly it was above man), and upon what he said was put this seal, that it was the Father who had revealed it to him. For our Savior said: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, for flesh and blood has not revealed this to thee, but my Father in heaven."⁵ Therefore, he who acknowledges our Lord Jesus Christ as the Son of God shares this blessing; but he who denies the Son of God is a wretched and miserable man.

(4) Again, when you hear "Son," do not think of it in an improper sense, but in a true sense, that is, a Son by nature, without beginning, not raised from bondage to the rank of adoption, but a Son begotten from all eternity by an inscrutable and incomprehensible generation. Similarly, when you hear "first-born," do not think of this in human fashion; for among men the first-born have other brothers; and it is somewhere written: "Israel is my son, my first-born";⁶ but like Reuben, Israel was a rejected first-born; for Reuben went

² Matt. 16.13.

³ *Ibid.* 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* 16.

⁵ *Ibid.* 17.

⁶ Exod. 4.22.

up to his father's bed,⁷ and Israel cast the Son of the Father out of the vineyard⁸ and crucified Him. To others also Scripture says: "You are children of the Lord your God";⁹ and elsewhere: "I said, You are gods; all of you sons of the Most High."¹⁰ Note "I said," not "I begot." They, from the fact that God said it, received the adoption which they did not have; but He was not begotten to be other than He was before; rather He was begotten Son from the beginning, Son of the Father, like in all things to His Genitor, begotten Life of Life, Light of Light, Truth of Truth, Wisdom of Wisdom, King of King, God of God, Power of Power.

(5) Therefore, when you hear the words of the Gospel: "The book of the origin of Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham,"¹¹ understand this "according to the flesh." For He is Son of David "at the end of the ages,"¹² but the Son of God before all ages. That which He had not, He did receive, but that which He has, He has eternally, as begotten of the Father. He has two fathers: one, David, according to the flesh, and one, God the Father, according to the Godhead. As the son of David, He is subject to time, and He is palpable and His descent is reckoned; but in His Godhead He is subject neither to time nor place nor genealogical reckoning. For "who shall declare his generation?"¹³ "God is spirit";¹⁴ He who is spirit begot spiritually, being incorporeal, by an unsearchable and incomprehensible generation. For the Son Himself says of the Father: "The Lord said to me, 'You are my son; this day I have begotten you.'"¹⁵ Now "this day" is not recent, but eternal; "this day" is timeless, before all ages.

7 Gen. 49.4.

8 Cf. Matt. 21.19.

9 Deut. 14.1.

10 Ps. 81.6.

11 Matt. 1.1.

12 Heb. 9.26.

13 Isa. 53.8 (Douay).

14 John 4.24.

15 Ps. 2.7.

"From the womb before the daystar I have begotten you."¹⁶

(6) Believe, then, in Jesus Christ, Son of the living God; and that Son, Only-begotten, according to the Gospel which says: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that those who believe in him may not perish, but may have life everlasting."¹⁷ And again: "He who believes in him is not judged,"¹⁸ "but has passed from death to life."¹⁹ But "he who is unbelieving towards the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God rests upon him";²⁰ because he has not believed in the Only-begotten Son of God.²¹ Bearing witness to Him John said: "And we saw his glory—the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father—full of grace and of truth."²² Before Him the devils trembled and said: "Let us be! What have we to do with thee, Jesus, Son of the living God?"²³

(7) He is, then, Son of God by nature, not by adoption, begotten of the Father. "And the one who loves him who begot, loves also the one begotten of him";²⁴ but he who despises Him who is begotten insults in turn Him who begot. When then you hear of God begetting, think not of bodily function, nor suppose corruptible generation, that you may not fall into impiety. "God is spirit,"²⁵ and His generation is spiritual; for bodies beget bodies, and for the generation of bodies an interval of time is necessary; but there is no intervening time in the generation of Son from Father. In natural generation what is begotten is begotten imperfect; but the Son of God was begotten perfect; for what He now is, this He was begotten from the beginning. We are so begotten that

¹⁶ Cf. Ps. 109.3.

¹⁷ John 3.16.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 18.

¹⁹ John 5.24.

²⁰ John 3.36.

²¹ *Ibid.* 18.

²² John 1.14.

²³ Cf. Luke 4.34; Mark 5.7.

²⁴ 1 John 5.1.

²⁵ John 4.24.

we pass from the ignorance of infancy to the use of reason; our generation as men is imperfect, for our growth comes by progression. Do not think this is so in His case, nor charge with infirmity Him who begot; for if He begot what was imperfect, though it acquired perfection in the course of time, you impute infirmity to Him who begot; since what time afterwards bestowed, this, in your view, the Father did not bestow from the beginning.²⁶

(8) Therefore, do not consider this generation as human or as Abraham begot Isaac. For when Abraham begot Isaac, he begot not what he would, but what another bestowed on him. But when God the Father begets, there is neither ignorance nor intervening deliberation; for to say that He did not know what was begotten is the greatest impiety, and to say that He became a Father after deliberating in time is like impiety.²⁷ For He was not first God without a Son, but afterwards, in time, became a Father; but He has the Son eternally, having begot Him not as men beget men, but as He Himself alone knows who begot Him before all ages, Very God.

(9) Since the Father is Very God He begot the Son like to Himself, Very God; not as teachers beget disciples, nor as Paul says to some: "For in Christ Jesus, through the gospel, did I beget you."²⁸ For in this case, he who was not a son by nature became a son by instruction; but in the case of Christ, He is a natural Son, a true Son. Not as you, who are beginning enlightened, now become sons of God; for you also become sons, but by adoption through grace, as it is written: "But to as many as received him he gave the power of becoming the sons of God; to those who believe in his name: who were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."²⁹ We, indeed, are

26 The argument of Cyril against the advancement of the Son in time is logical and sound.

27 Cyril is again arguing against the Arians; cf. *Cat.* 7.5, note.

28 1 Cor. 4.15.

29 John 1.12, 13.

begotten of water and the Spirit,³⁰ but not thus was Christ begotten of the Father; for at the time of His baptism, addressing Him and saying: "This is my Son,"³¹ He did not say: This has now become my son, but, "This is my Son," that He might show that even before the act of baptism He was His Son.

(10) Nor did the Father beget the Son as among men mind begets word. For the mind in us is subsistent, but the word, when uttered, is dispersed through the air and is lost. But we know that Christ was begotten, not as a word pronounced, but a Word subsisting and living; not uttered by the lips and dispersed, but eternally and ineffably begotten of the Father in substance. For, "In the beginning was the Word,"³² sitting at His right hand,³³ the Word, understanding the will of the Father, and creating all things at His bidding; the Word, who descended and ascended;³⁴ for the spoken word, once uttered, neither ascends nor descends; the Word speaking and saying: "I speak what I have seen with the Father";³⁵ the Word full of power and reigning over all things; for the Father delivered all things to the Son.³⁶

(11) Therefore, the Father begot in a manner no man would understand, but as He Himself only knows. For we do not claim to declare how He begot Him, but we merely affirm that it was not in this way or that. Nor are we alone ignorant of the generation of the Son from the Father, but so is all created nature. "Speak to the earth if it will answer thee";³⁷ and even if you question carefully all things upon the earth they will not be able to tell you; for the earth cannot tell of the substance of its own potter and fashioner. Not only

³⁰ Cf. John 3.5.

³¹ Matt. 3.17; 17.5.

³² John 1.1.

³³ Cf. Ps. 109.1.

³⁴ Cf. Eph. 4.10.

³⁵ John 8.38.

³⁶ Cf. Matt. 11.27.

³⁷ Job 12.8 (Sept.).

the earth, but even the sun does not know; for the sun was created on the fourth day, without knowledge of the thing made the three preceding days, and what does not know these things cannot declare the Creator Himself. Heaven will not relate it, for at the bidding of the Father "the heaven also like smoke was established,"³⁸ by Christ. Neither the heavens of heavens nor the water above the heavens³⁹ will declare this. Why then should men be distressed at not knowing what even the heavens do not know? Not only the heavens, but the whole angelic nature also are ignorant of this generation. For if anyone (supposing this were possible) mounted to the first heaven, and approached the ranks of angels perceived there, and asked how God begot His Son, they would perhaps answer: "We have above us beings greater and higher; ask them." Ascend to the second and third heaven; reach, if possible, Thrones and Dominations, and Principalities and Powers; even if you could reach them, a thing impossible, they would also decline the telling, for they do not know.

(12) I myself have always been amazed at the curiosity of rash men who, through what they consider reverence, fall into impiety. For though they know nothing about Thrones and Dominations, Principalities and Powers, the works of Christ, they venture to inquire curiously about the Creator Himself.⁴⁰ Let these rash men tell me first how a Throne differs from a Domination, and then inquire into what concerns Christ. Tell me, what is a Principality and what a Power, what a Virtue and what an Angel; and then busy yourself with the Creator; for "all things were made through Him."⁴¹ You will not question Thrones or Dominations, or rather you cannot; what other is there who knows "the deep

³⁸ Cf. Isa. 51.6 (Sept.).

³⁹ Cf. Ps. 148.4.

⁴⁰ Cyril here testifies to the current enthusiasm for disputation, and that too, on the most technical theological questions.

⁴¹ John 1.3.

things of God”⁴² but only the Holy Spirit who spoke the Divine Scriptures? But even the Holy Spirit has said nothing in Scripture of the generation of the Son from the Father. Why then do you busy yourself about things which even the Holy Spirit has not written of in the Scriptures? Though you understand not what is written, are you curious about what is not written? There are many questions in the Divine Scriptures; if we do not understand what is written, why weary ourselves about what is not written? It is enough to know that God begot One Only Son.

(13) Do not be ashamed to confess your ignorance, since you share it with angels. Only He who begot knows Him who was begotten; and He who is begotten of Him knows Him who begot. He who begot knows what He begot, and the Scriptures testify that He who was begotten is God. “For as the Father has life in himself, even so he has given to the Son also to have life in himself”;⁴³ and, “that all men may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father”;⁴⁴ and as the Father gives life to whom He will, “even so the Son also gives life to whom he will.”⁴⁵ Neither did He who begot suffer any loss, nor is there anything lacking to Him who was begotten. (I know that I have said these things many times, but it is for your safety that I have repeated them so much.) Neither does He who begot have a father, nor He who was begotten a brother; nor did He who begot change into the Son, nor did He who was begotten become the Father. Of One Only Father, there is One Only-begotten Son; neither are there two unbegotten, nor two only-begotten, but there is one Father, Unbegotten (for He is Unbegotten who has no father); and One Son begotten eternally of the Father, not begotten in time, but before all ages; not increased by advancement, but begotten that which He now is.

⁴² 1 Cor. 2.10.

⁴³ John 5.26.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 23.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 21.

(14) We believe then in the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father Very God. For the true God does not beget a false god, as we have said, nor did He deliberate and afterwards beget Him, but He begot Him eternally, and far more swiftly than our words and thoughts. For in our case, when we speak in time, we consume time; but when there is question of Divine Power, the generation is timeless. As we have often said, He did not bring the Son from non-being into being, nor receive by adoption into sonship him who was not; but the Father, being eternal, eternally and ineffably begot One Only Son, who has no brother. Nor are there two first principles; but the Father is the head of the Son;⁴⁶ the beginning is One. For the Father begot the Son Very God, called Emmanuel;⁴⁷ but Emmanuel is interpreted "God with us."⁴⁸

(15) You must know that He who was begotten of the Father and afterwards became man is God. Harken to the Prophet: "Such is our God; no other is to be compared to him; he has traced out all the way of understanding, and has given her to Jacob, his servant, to Israel, his beloved son. Afterwards he was seen upon earth, and conversed with men."⁴⁹ Do you see God become man, after the law-giving of Moses? Here is a second testimony to the Godhead of Christ, from what was just read: "Your throne, O God, stands forever and ever";⁵⁰ for, that He might not be thought, because of His presence here in the flesh, to have advanced in time to the dignity of the Godhead, Scripture says plainly: "Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellow kings."⁵¹ Here you see Christ as God, anointed by God the Father.

(16) For still a third testimony of the divinity of Christ

⁴⁶ Cf. 1 Cor. 11.3.

⁴⁷ Cf. Isa. 7.14.

⁴⁸ Matt. 1.23.

⁴⁹ Bar. 3.36-38 (Douay).

⁵⁰ Ps. 44.7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 8.

listen to Isaia: "The earnings of Egypt, the gain of Ethiopia,"⁵² and a little further on: "And they shall make supplication to you: 'With you only is God and there is no God beside you. For you are God and we knew it not, the God of Israel, the savior.'"⁵³ You see the Son is God, having God the Father in Himself, all but saying the very thing He has said in the Gospels: "The Father in me, and I in the Father."⁵⁴ He did not say: "I and the Father am one," but "I and the Father are one";⁵⁵ that we might neither separate them nor confuse the identities of Son and Father. They are one in the dignity of their Godhead, since God begot God; one in the prerogative of their kingdom; for the Father does not reign over some and the Son over others, setting Himself up against His Father, like Absalom; but over what the Father reigns, the Son also reigns. They are one, because there is no discord or division between them; for the Father does not will some things, and the Son others. They are One, because there are not some things created by Christ and others by the Father; for one is the creation of all things, the Father having created them through the Son: "For he spoke, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created,"⁵⁶ says the Psalmist; for He who speaks, speaks to a hearer; and He who commands, commands one who is present.

(17) Therefore, the Son is Very God, having the Father in Himself, not changed into the Father; for the Father did not put on man's nature, but the Son. For let the truth be spoken freely. The Father did not suffer for us, but the Father sent Him who suffered for us. Never let us say: There was a time when the Son was not; nor let us accept the identification of Son with Father. Let us rather proceed on the royal road and turn aside neither to the left nor to the right. Let us

⁵² Isa. 45.14.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 45.14, 15 (Sept.).

⁵⁴ John 14.11.

⁵⁵ John 10.30.

⁵⁶ Ps. 148.5.

not, thinking to honor the Son, call Him Father, nor, thinking to honor the Father, suppose the Son to be but one of His creatures. But let One Father be worshiped through the One Son, and let not their worship be separated. Let One Son be proclaimed, sitting at the right hand of the Father before all ages, not having received this dignity in time by advancement after His passion, but possessing it eternally.

(18) "He who has seen the Son, has seen the Father";⁵⁷ for the Son is like in all things to Him who begot Him, begotten Life of Life, Power of Power, God of God. The characteristics of Godhead in the Son are unchangeable, and he who is deigned worthy to behold the Godhead of the Son comes to the enjoyment of the Father. It is not I say this, but the Only-begotten: "Have I been so long a time with you, and you have not known me, Philip. He who sees me sees also the Father."⁵⁸ And to speak more briefly, let us neither separate nor confuse Father and Son; and never say that the Son is alien to the Father, nor receive those who say that the Father is at one time Father and at another Son; for such expressions are strange and impious and not the teachings of the Church. But the Father, having begotten the Son, remained Father, and He is not changed. He begot Wisdom, but did not Himself become devoid of wisdom; He begot Power, but He did not become weak; He begot God, but He was not deprived of His own Godhead; neither did He lose anything by way of decrease or change, nor did He who was begotten have any defect. Perfect is He who begot, perfect that which was begotten; He who begot is God, God He who was begotten, God, indeed, of all things, but calling the Father His own God; for He is not ashamed to say: "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God."⁵⁹

(19) But that you might not think that He is in a like sense

⁵⁷ John 14.9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ John 20.17.

Father of the Son and the creatures, Christ, in what follows, indicated a distinction. For He did not say: "I ascend to our Father," else a fellowship of creatures with the Only-begotten might be supposed, but He said: "my Father and your Father";⁶⁰ in one sense Mine, by nature; in another yours, by adoption. Again: "to my God and your God";⁶¹ in one sense Mine, as His true and Only-begotten Son, and in another sense yours, as His workmanship. The Son of God is, therefore, Very God, ineffably begotten before all ages; for I say the same things to you often, that it may be imprinted on your mind. That God has a Son believe, but how, do not eagerly search out; for seeking you will not find. Do not exalt yourself, that you may not fall; "what is committed to you, attend to."⁶² Tell me first who He is who begot, and then learn what He begot. But if you cannot comprehend the nature of Him who begot, busy not yourself with how He begot.

(20) It is enough for piety for you to know, as we have said, that God has One Only Son, One naturally begotten; who did not begin to be when He was born in Bethlehem, but is before all ages. For listen to the Prophet Michea: "And you, Bethlehem, house of Ephratha, are little to be among the thousands of Juda: from you shall come forth for me a leader who shall feed my people Israel; and his goings forth are from the beginning, from the days of eternity."⁶³ Therefore do not fix your attention on Him as coming from Bethlehem simply, but worship Him as begotten eternally of the Father. Admit no one who speaks of a beginning of the Son in time, but acknowledge His timeless Beginning, the Father. For the Father is the Beginning of the Son, timeless, incomprehensible, without beginning; the Father, the fountain of the streams of justice, even of the Only-begotten;

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Ecclus. (Sir). 3.22.

⁶³ Cf. Mich. 5.2; cf. Matt. 2.6.

who begot Him as He Himself only knows. But that you may know that our Lord Jesus Christ is also Eternal King, listen to His words: "Abraham . . . rejoiced that he was to see my day. He saw it and was glad."⁶⁴ Then, when the Jews received this obdurately, He said something still harder for them: "Before Abraham came to be, I am."⁶⁵ Again, He says to the Father: "And now do thou, Father, glorify me with thyself, with the glory that I had with thee before the world existed."⁶⁶ For He has said plainly: "Before the world was, I had glory with thee." Again: "Because thou hast loved me before the creation of the world,"⁶⁷ He clearly says: "I have eternal glory with Thee."

(21) Therefore, let us believe in One Lord, Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, Very God, through whom "all things were made."⁶⁸ "Whether Thrones, or Dominations, or Principalities, or Powers, all things have been created through him";⁶⁹ and no created thing has been exempted from His power. Silenced be every heresy that introduces different creators and makers of the world; silenced be that which blasphemes Christ the Son of God; silenced be they who assert that the sun is Christ; for He, not the sun we see, is the Maker of the sun. Let them be silent who say that the world is the workmanship of angels, and who wish to rob the Only-begotten of dignity. For whether visible or invisible, or Thrones or Domination, or anything that is named,⁷⁰ all things were made by Christ. He reigns over the things made by Him, not having seized booty of another, but ruling over His own workmanship, as the Evangelist John has said: "All things were made through

⁶⁴ John 8.56.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 58.

⁶⁶ John 17.5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 24.

⁶⁸ John 1.3.

⁶⁹ Col. 1.16.

⁷⁰ Cf. Eph. 1.21.

Him, and without Him was made nothing";⁷¹ all things were made through Him, the Father working through the Son.

(22) I wish to bring in an illustration of what I am saying, but I realize that it is feeble; for there can be no exact illustration of the Divine Power in visible things. But still, feeble though it be, let it be spoken by the feeble to the feeble. For consider that a king, having a son a king, and wishing to establish a city, would propose the form of the city to the son who shared his rule, and the son in turn, taking the design, would bring the planned work to completion. In like manner, when the Father wished to form all things, the Son, at the bidding of the Father, created all things, that the Father's bidding might secure for Him His absolute authority, yet the Son might have authority over His own workmanship; thus neither is the Father alienated from the dominion over His own works, nor does the Son reign over things created by others, but by Himself. For, as I have said, the angels did not create the world, but the Only-begotten Son, begotten, to repeat, before all ages; through whom all things were made, nothing being excepted from His creation. Thus far my words, by the grace of Christ.

(23) But returning to our exposition of the faith, let us conclude our discourse for the present. Christ made all things, whether you mention Angels, or Archangels, or Dominations, or Thrones. Not that the Father lacked power to create the works Himself, but because He wished the Son to reign over His own workmanship, furnishing Him the design of the things to be made; for the Only-begotten, honoring His Father, says: "The Son can do nothing of himself, but only what He sees the Father doing. For whatever he does, this the Son does in like manner."⁷² Again: "My Father works even until now, and I work";⁷³ there being no opposition in those who work, for "all things that are mine are thine, and thine

⁷¹ John 1.3.

⁷² John 5.19.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 17.

are mine,"⁷⁴ the Lord says in the Gospels. We may know this clearly from the Old as well as from the New Testament. For He who said: "Let us make man in our image and likeness,"⁷⁵ was certainly addressing someone present. But most clear are the Psalmist's words: "For he spoke, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created";⁷⁶ as if the Father commanded and spoke, and the Son at the Father's bidding created all things. Job also has said this mystically: "He alone stretches out the heavens and treads upon the crests of the sea,"⁷⁷ signifying to those who understand that He, who during His presence here walked upon the sea, is He who before had created the heavens. Again, the Lord says: "Or have you taken the slime of the earth and fashioned a living thing?"⁷⁸ Then, subsequently: "Have the gates of death been opened to you with fear?"⁷⁹ signifying that He who in His loving-kindness descended to hell is He who in the beginning created man out of slime.

(24) Therefore Christ is the Only-begotten Son of God and Maker of the world, for: "He was in the world, and the world was made through him,"⁸⁰ and: "He came unto His own,"⁸¹ as the Gospel teaches us. But Christ is the Maker, at the bidding of the Father, not only of things visible, but also things invisible. For, according to the Apostle: "In him were created all things in the heavens and on the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether Thrones, or Dominations, or Principalities, or Powers. All things have been created through him and unto him, and he is before all creatures, and in him all things hold together."⁸² Though

⁷⁴ John 17.10.

⁷⁵ Gen. 1.26.

⁷⁶ Ps. 148.5 (Douay).

⁷⁷ Job 9.8.

⁷⁸ Job 38.14 (Sept.).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 17 (Sept.).

⁸⁰ John 1.10.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 11.

⁸² Col. 1.16, 17.

you mention the worlds, Jesus Christ, at the bidding of the Father, is Maker of these, too. For: "last of all in these days, he has spoken to us in his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the world";⁸³ to whom be glory, honor, power, now and always, forever and ever. Amen.

⁸³ Heb. 1.1, 2.

CATECHESIS XII

On the Incarnation

*"Again the Lord spoke to Achaz: Ask for a sign from the Lord . . . the virgin shall be with child, and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel."*¹

(1) Children of purity and disciples of chastity, let us celebrate the praises of the Virgin-born God with lips all-pure. Being counted worthy to partake of the flesh of the spiritual Lamb, let us take the head with the feet,² understanding the head as the Divinity, and the feet as the Humanity. We who listen to the Holy Gospels should give heed to John the divine; for he who said: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God; and the Word was God,"³ thereafter added: "And the Word was made flesh."⁴ For it is neither holy to worship the mere man, nor pious to speak of Him as God only, apart from His manhood. For if Christ is God, as He truly is, but did not assume manhood, then we are strangers to salvation. Let us, therefore, adore Him as God, but believe that He became man also; for it is neither profitable to speak of Him as man without the Godhead, nor salutary to fail to confess the manhood together with the Godhead. Let us confess the presence of the King and Physician. For Jesus the King, when about to become our Physician, girded Himself with the linen towel of humanity, and cared for that which was sick. The perfect

¹ Isa. 7.10, 14.

² Exod. 12.9.

³ John 1.1.

⁴ *Ibid.* 14.

Teacher of children became Himself a child among children, that He might instruct the unwise. The Bread of heaven came down to earth to feed the hungry.

(2) But the Jews, while they reject Him who has come, and look for him who is to come in wickedness, have repudiated the True Christ, and being deceived themselves, await the deceiver. And so the Savior is again proved true, who said: "I have come in the name of my Father, and you do not receive me. If another come in his own name, him you will receive."⁵ Here is a good question for the Jews: "Is the Prophet Isaia, when he says that Emmanuel will be born of a virgin, true or false?" If they accuse him as false, it is not surprising; for it is their custom not only to accuse their prophets as liars, but even to stone them. But if the Prophet is true, point out Emmanuel. Further, is he who is to come, whom you await, to be born of a virgin or not? For if he is not to be born of a virgin, you charge the Prophet with falsehood; but if you expect this in him who is to come, why do you reject that which has already come to pass?

(3) Now let the Jews, since they so will, be led astray; but let the Church of God be glorified. For we receive God the Word made Man in truth, not of the will of man and woman, as heretics say, but according to the Gospel, of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit, made Man, not in appearance, but in reality. That He became man of a virgin will be taught in good time, and you will receive the proofs; for the error of the heretics is manifold.⁶ Some have denied altogether that He was born of a virgin; others assert that He was born, not of a virgin, but of a woman dwelling with a husband. Others assert that Christ is not God made man, but a man made God; for they have dared to say that it was not the

⁵ John 5.43.

⁶ Cyril seems to have in mind three types of heretics, those who denied that Christ was born at all (or admitted he was a man but not born of men); secondly, those who maintain that Christ was born as other men, i.e., not from a virgin; thirdly, those who asserted that Christ was deified from mere man.

pre-existing Word that became man, but that a certain man was crowned by advancement.

(4) But remember the things that were said yesterday regarding His Godhead. Believe that the very same Only-begotten Son of God was Himself again begotten of a virgin. Heed John the Evangelist, when he says: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."⁷ For the Word is indeed Eternal, begotten of the Father before all ages, but took the flesh recently, in our behalf. But many gainsay this and declare: "What cause was there so great that God should come down to man's level? Again, is it God's nature at all to live among men? Besides, is it possible for a virgin to bear, without man?" Since there is much controversy, and the strife is manifold, let us proceed to resolve each point, by the grace of Christ and the prayers of those present.

(5) First, let us inquire why Jesus came down to earth. Now do not fix your attention on any skill of language on my part, for perhaps you may be deceived; unless you get the testimony of the prophets on each point, do not believe what is said. Unless you learn from the Holy Scriptures regarding the Virgin, the place, the time, the manner,⁸ "do not receive the witness of man."⁹ For one who is now present and teaches may be open to suspicion; but what man of sense will suspect him who prophesied a thousand years ago and more? If then you seek the reason for Christ's coming, go back to the first book of the Scriptures. God made the world in six days; but the world was made for man. The sun, however bright its shining rays, was yet made to give light to man. In fact, all the living things were created to serve us. Plants and trees were created for our enjoyment. All created things were good, but none of them was the image of God save man alone. The sun was fashioned by a mere command, but man by God's

⁷ John 1.14.

⁸ Cf. Bar. 3.38.

⁹ John 5.34.

hands. "Let us make man in our image and likeness."¹⁰ A wooden image of an earthly king is honored; how much more a rational image of God. But the envy of the devil cast out this greatest of God's works, when it was making merry in Paradise. The enemy exulted over the fall of him whom he had envied; would you have wished the devil to continue to rejoice? He did not dare approach the man because of his strength, but approached the woman, as being weaker, when she was still a virgin; for it was after his expulsion from Paradise that "Adam knew Eve his wife."¹¹

(6) Cain and Abel followed next in the generation of mankind; and Cain was the first murderer. Afterwards a deluge engulfed the earth because of the exceeding wickedness of men. Fire came down from heaven upon the people of Sodom because of their corruption. Subsequently God chose out Israel; but even Israel became perverse and the chosen race was wounded. For while Moses stood on the mountain before God, the people worshiped a calf in place of God. In the days of their lawgiver Moses, who said: "Thou shalt not commit adultery," a man dared to enter a brothel and be wanton. After Moses, prophets were sent to heal Israel; but in their exercise of healing they deplored the fact that they could not overcome evil, so that one of them says: Alas, "The faithful are gone from the earth, among men the upright are no more!";¹² and again: "All alike have gone astray; they have become perverse; there is not one who does good, not even one."¹³ And again: "Cursing, and theft, and adultery, and killing have overflowed"¹⁴ upon the land. "They sacrificed their sons and daughters to demons."¹⁵ They engaged themselves in auguries, and enchantments, and divinations;

¹⁰ Gen. 1.26.

¹¹ Gen. 4.1.

¹² Mich. 7.2.

¹³ Ps. 13.3.

¹⁴ Cf. Osee 4.2.

¹⁵ Ps. 105.37.

and again: "They fastened their garments with cords and hung veils next to the altar."¹⁶

(7) Grievous was the wound of mankind. "From the sole of the foot to the head there was no sound spot; there was no place to apply ointment or oil or bandages."¹⁷ Then, lamenting and in distress the prophets said: "Oh, that out of Sion would come the salvation of Israel!"¹⁸ And again: "May your help be with the man of your right hand, with the son of man whom you yourself made strong. And we will no more withdraw from you."¹⁹ Another prophet made supplication thus: "Incline your heavens, O Lord, and come down."²⁰ The wounds of mankind are beyond our healing. "They have slain thy prophets, they have thrown down thy altars."²¹ The evil cannot be repaired by us; you must repair it.

(8) The Lord heard the prayer of the prophets. The Father did not despise our race which was perishing; He sent from heaven His own Son the Lord as our Physician. One of the prophets says: "The Lord whom you seek, cometh; and He shall come suddenly."²² Whither? "The Lord shall come to his temple,"²³ where you took up stones against Him.²⁴ Another of the prophets, on hearing this, says to him: "In speaking of God's salvation, do you speak softly? In announcing the good tidings of God's coming for salvation, do you speak in secret?" "Go up onto a high mountain, Sion, herald of glad tidings; say to the cities of Juda";—what shall I say?—"Here is your God! Here comes with power the Lord God."²⁵ Again the Lord Himself has said: "Behold I come,

¹⁶ Amos 2.8 (Sept.).

¹⁷ Isa. 1.6 (Sept.).

¹⁸ Ps. 13.7.

¹⁹ Ps. 79.18, 19.

²⁰ Ps. 143.5.

²¹ 3 Kings 19.10.

²² Cf. Mal. 3.1 (Sept.).

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Cf. John 8.59.

²⁵ Isa. 40.9, 10.

and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord. And many nations shall be joined to the Lord.”²⁶ The Israelites rejected salvation through Me; “I come to gather nations of every language”;²⁷ for, “he came unto his own, and his own received him not.”²⁸ You come, and what do you bestow upon the nations? “I come to gather nations of every language; . . . I will set a sign among them.”²⁹ For from My conflict on the cross I will give to each of My soldiers a royal sign to bear upon his forehead. Still another prophet said: “He inclined the heavens and came down, with dark clouds under his feet.”³⁰ For His coming down from heaven was unknown to men.

(9) Afterwards Solomon, hearing his father David say these things, and having built a wondrous house, and foreseeing Him who would come to it, says in astonishment: “Is it then to be thought that God should indeed dwell upon earth?”³¹ Yes, says David in anticipation in the psalm inscribed “For Solomon,” wherein it is said: “He shall be like rain coming down on the fleece”;³² “rain” because of His heavenly origin; but “on the fleece” because of His manhood. For rain, falling upon fleece, falls noiselessly; so that, the mystery of His birth being unknown, the wise men said: “Where is he that is born king of the Jews?” And Herod, being troubled, inquired concerning Him who had been born, and said: “Where is the Christ born?”³³

(10) Who is this who comes down? He says in what follows: “May he endure as long as the sun, and like the moon through all generations.”³⁴ Again another of the prophets says: “Rejoice heartily, O daughter Sion, shout for joy, O

²⁶ Zach. 2.10, 11 (Douay).

²⁷ Isa. 66.18.

²⁸ John 1.11.

²⁹ Isa. 66.18, 19 (Sept.).

³⁰ Ps. 17.10.

³¹ 3 Kings 8.27.

³² Ps. 71.6 (Douay).

³³ Matt. 2.2, 4.

³⁴ Ps. 71.5.

daughter Jerusalem! See, your king shall come to you; a just savior is he."³⁵ There are many kings; explain to us which one you mean, O Prophet. Give us a sign which other kings do not have. If you say, a king clad in purple, the dignity of such vesture has been anticipated. If you say he is guarded by spearmen, and sitting on a golden chariot, this too has been anticipated by others. Give us a sign peculiar to the King whose coming you announce. The prophet answers and says: "See your king shall come to you; a just savior is he, meek, and riding on an ass, on a colt, the foal of an ass,"³⁶ not upon a chariot. You have a unique sign of the King who came. Alone of kings, Jesus sat upon a foal untried in the yoke, entering Jerusalem with acclamations as a king. What does this King do on entering? "Thou also by the blood of thy testament hast sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit, wherein is no water."³⁷

(11) But it might happen that He should sit upon a foal; give us rather a sign where the king who enters will stand. Give us a sign not far from the city, that it may not be unknown to us; give us a sign nearby and clearly visible, that being in the city³⁸ we may behold the place. Again the prophet answers, saying: "That day his feet shall rest upon the Mount of Olives, which is opposite Jerusalem to the east."³⁹ Is it possible for anyone standing within the city not to behold the place?

(12) We have two signs, and wish to learn a third; tell us what the Lord shall do on coming. Another prophet says: "Here is your God," and thereafter, "he comes to save you. Then will the eyes of the blind be opened, the ears of the deaf be cleared; then will the lame leap like the stag; then

³⁵ Zach. 9.9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* (Douay).

³⁸ Cyril was preaching on Mt. Golgotha, which was outside the gate of the old Jerusalem, but inside the walls of the later city. The Mount of Olives was easily visible from Calvary.

³⁹ Zach. 14.4.

the tongue of the dumb will sing."⁴⁰ But let yet another testimony be told us. You speak, O Prophet, of the Lord coming and doing signs such as never had been done.⁴¹ What other clear signs do you mention? "The Lord enters into judgment with his people's elders and princes."⁴² An extraordinary sign: the Master judged by elder servants, and enduring it.

(13) These things the Jews read, but heed not; they have stopped up the ears of their heart, that they may not hear. But for our part, let us believe in Jesus Christ, who came in the flesh and was made man; for we could not receive Him otherwise. For since we could not behold or enjoy Him as He is, He became what we are, that we might be allowed to enjoy him. For if we cannot look full upon the sun, which was made on the fourth day, could we behold God, its Maker? The Lord came down in fire on Mount Sinai and the people could not bear it, but said to Moses: "You speak to us, and we will listen; but let not God speak to us, or we shall die."⁴³ Again: "What mortal has heard the voice of the living God speaking from the midst of fire, and shall live?"⁴⁴ If to hear the voice of God speaking is a cause of death, how will the sight of God not cause death? And why wonder? Even Moses himself says: "I am greatly terrified and trembling."⁴⁵

(14) What then? Would you that He who came for our salvation become a minister of destruction because men could not bear Him? Or rather, that He should temper His grace to our measure? Daniel could not bear the vision of an angel; could you bear the sight of the Lord of angels? Gabriel appeared and Daniel fell down. Of what nature and in what form did he appear? "His face shone like lightning," not as the sun; "his eyes were like fiery torches," not as a

⁴⁰ Isa. 35.4-6.

⁴¹ Cf. John 15.24.

⁴² Isa. 3.14.

⁴³ Exod. 20.19.

⁴⁴ Deut. 5.26.

⁴⁵ Heb. 12.21.

furnace of fire; "and the voice sounded like the roar of a multitude,"⁴⁶ not "as of twelve legions of angels."⁴⁷ Yet the Prophet fell down. The angel approached him and said: "Fear not, Daniel: stand upright, take courage, thy words have been heard."⁴⁸ And Daniel says: "I stood up trembling";⁴⁹ yet even so he did not answer, until the likeness of a man's hand touched him. After the vision changed and seemed like a man, then Daniel began to speak; and his words? "My Lord, I was seized with pangs at the vision and I was powerless. . . . No strength or even breath it left in me."⁵⁰ If the vision of an angel took away the Prophet's voice and strength, would the sight of God Himself have allowed him to breathe? Until "the one who looked like a man touched me,"⁵¹ says the Scripture, Daniel did not take courage. A proof of our weakness having been shown then, the Lord took on Himself that which man required. For, since man sought to hear from one like himself, the Savior put on the same nature, that men might be taught more easily.

(15) Here is another reason. Christ came that He might be baptized and might sanctify baptism; He came that He might work wonders, walking upon the waters of the sea. Therefore, since before His coming in the flesh, "the sea beheld and fled; Jordan turned back,"⁵² the Lord assumed His body, that the sea might endure the sight, and Jordan receive Him without fear. This is one reason, but there is a second also. Through Eve, yet a virgin, came death; there was need that through a virgin, or rather from a virgin, that life should appear; that as the serpent deceived the one, so Gabriel should bring the good news to the other. Men, having abandoned God, fashioned images like men. Since, therefore, the

46 Dan. 10.6.

47 Cf. Matt. 26.53.

48 Cf. Dan. 10.12-19.

49 *Ibid.* 11 (Sept.).

50 *Ibid.* 16, 17 (Sept.).

51 *Ibid.* 18.

52 Ps. 113.3.

image of man was falsely worshiped as God, God became truly man, that the falsehood might be destroyed. The devil had made use of the flesh as an instrument against us; and knowing this Paul says: "But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind and making me prisoner,"⁵³ and what follows. We have been saved by the very weapons which the devil used to conquer us. The Lord took from us our likeness, that through human nature, we might be saved. He assumed our likeness that He might bestow the greater grace on that which was lacking, that sinful human nature might be made partaker of God. For: "Where the offense has abounded, grace has abounded yet more."⁵⁴ It behooved the Lord to suffer on our behalf; but the devil would not have dared to approach, if he had known Him: "For had they known it, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory."⁵⁵ His body, therefore, was made a bait to death, that the dragon, when hoping to devour it, might disgorge those also whom he had already devoured. For: "Death having waxed mighty, devoured";⁵⁶ and again: "God wiped away the tears from all faces."⁵⁷

(16) Did Christ become man in vain? Are our doctrines merely clever inventions and human sophistries? Are not the Holy Scriptures our salvation? Are not the predictions of the prophets? Therefore, keep this deposit unshaken, I pray you, and let no one disturb you: believe that God became man. Now it has been proved that this was possible; but if the Jews still refuse to believe, let us propose this to them: "What strange thing do we announce when we say that God became man, when you yourselves say that Abraham received the Lord as a guest? What strange thing do we announce, when Jacob says: 'I have seen a heavenly being face to face, yet

⁵³ Rom 7.23.

⁵⁴ Rom. 5.20.

⁵⁵ 1 Cor. 2.8.

⁵⁶ Isa. 25.8 (Sept.).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

my life has been spared'⁵⁸ The same Lord who ate with Abraham ate also with us. Therefore, what strange thing do we announce? Further, we present two witnesses who stood before the Lord on Mount Sinai; Moses was 'in the hollow of the rock';⁵⁹ and Elias was once in the hollow of the rock.⁶⁰ They, being present at His Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, spoke to His disciples 'of his death which he was about to fulfill in Jerusalem.' "⁶¹ That it was possible for Him to be made man has been shown, as I said above; the rest of the proofs may be left for the studious to gather.

(17) But in my discourse above I promised to declare both the time and the place of the coming of the Savior; and I must not depart convicted of falsehood, but rather send away the Church's novices well assured. Therefore, let us inquire the time when the Lord came, since His coming is recent and disputed; and since "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today, yes, and forever,"⁶² Moses the Prophet says: "A prophet like unto me will the Lord, your God, raise up for you from among your own kinsmen."⁶³ Let the phrase "like unto me," be reserved awhile, to be examined in its proper place. But when does this expected prophet come? Go back, he says, to what has been written by me; scrutinize the prophecy of Jacob spoken to Juda: "Juda, your brothers shall praise you,"⁶⁴ and what follows, not to quote the whole; "A prince shall not fail out of Juda, nor a ruler from his thigh, till he come, for whom it is reserved, and he shall be the expectation," not of the Jews, but "of nations."⁶⁵ He gave as a sign of the coming of Christ the cessation of Jewish rule. If they are not now under the sway of the Romans, Christ is not yet come.

58 Gen. 32.30.

59 Exod. 33.22.

60 Cf. 3 Kings 19.13.

61 Luke 9.30, 31.

62 Heb. 13.8.

63 Deut. 18.15.

64 Gen. 49.8.

65 *Ibid.* 10 (Sept.).

If they still have a prince of the race of Juda and David, the expected One has not yet come. For I am ashamed to mention their recent doings concerning those who are nowadays called "patriarchs" among them, and what their recent descent is and who their mother; but I leave it to those who know. But He who comes "the expectation of nations," what further sign has He? In the next verse Jacob says: "tying his colt to his vine";⁶⁶ you recognize that colt clearly announced by Zacharia.

(18) But again you seek still another testimony of the time. "The Lord said to me, 'You are my son; this day I have begotten you' ";⁶⁷ and a little further on: "You shall rule them with an iron rod."⁶⁸ I have already said that the rule of the Romans is clearly called "an iron rod"; but what is still wanting concerning this point let us call to mind from Daniel. For in declaring and interpreting the image of the statue of Nabuchodonosor, he tells also his whole vision concerning it; and that "a stone hewn from a mountain without a hand being put to it,"⁶⁹ that is to say, not produced by man's contrivance, would overpower the whole world. He speaks most clearly thus: "In the lifetime of those kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed or delivered up to another people."⁷⁰

(19) But we seek a clearer proof of the time of His coming; for man, being slow to believe, unless he can calculate the very years exactly, does not believe what is said. What were the circumstances and the nature of the time? When the kings out of Juda fail, and a foreigner, Herod, rules. Therefore the angel, speaking to Daniel, says (now mark, I pray you, what is said): "Know and understand this: From the utterance of the word that Jerusalem was to be rebuilt unto

⁶⁶ Cf. *Ibid.* 11.

⁶⁷ Ps. 2.7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 9.

⁶⁹ Dan. 2.34.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 44.

Christ the prince, there shall be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks."⁷¹ Now sixty-nine weeks of years makes four hundred and eighty-three years. Therefore he declared that four hundred and eighty-three years after the building of Jerusalem, the rulers out of Juda failing, there was to come a certain foreign king, in whose reign Christ was to be born. Darius the Mede built the city in the sixth year of his own reign, in the first year of the sixty-sixth Olympiad. Among the Greeks "Olympiad" is the term given the games occurring every four years, because of the day made up, in every four years of the sun's courses, of the three hours over in each year. Now Herod was king in the fourth year of the one hundred and eighty-sixth Olympiad. Between the sixty-sixth and the one hundred and eighty-sixth Olympiads there are one hundred and twenty Olympiads plus. Now one hundred and twenty Olympiads make up four hundred and eighty years; the three other years remaining are accounted for in the interval between the first and the fourth years. So, therefore, you have the proof from Scripture: "From the utterance of the word that Jerusalem was to be rebuilt unto Christ the prince, there shall be seven weeks, and sixty-two weeks."⁷² For the present, then, you have this proof of the time, though the weeks of years foretold in Daniel are interpreted variously.

(20) Listen now to the place of the promise. Michea says: "But you, Bethlehem-Ephratha, are not the least to be among the thousands of Juda: for from you shall come forth for me a leader that is to be the ruler in Israel: and his goings forth are from the beginning, from the days of eternity."⁷³ Now regarding the place, as an inhabitant of Jerusalem, you already know beforehand what is written in the one hundred and thirty-first psalm: "Behold, we heard of it in Ephratha; we found it in the fields of the wood."⁷⁴ For, a few

⁷¹ Cf. Dan. 9.25.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Cf. Mich. 5.2 (Sept.).

⁷⁴ Ps. 131.6.

years ago, the place was woody. Again, you have heard Habacuc saying to the Lord: "When the years draw nigh, you shall be known; when the time comes, you shall be shown."⁷⁵ What is the sign, O Prophet, of the coming of the Lord? He says next: "In the midst of two lives you shall be known,"⁷⁶ saying this plainly to the Lord: "Coming in the flesh, you shall live and die, and rising from the dead you shall live again." From what part of the region about Jerusalem is He to come? From East, or West, or North, or South? Tell us exactly. He answers most clearly and says: "God shall come from Theman (now Theman is interpreted "South"), and the Holy One from Pharan, shady, woody";⁷⁷ in agreement with this the Psalmist said: "We found it in the fields of the wood."⁷⁸

(21) We ask further of whom and how He will come. This Isaia tells us: "The virgin shall be with child, and bear a son, and shall name him Emmanuel."⁷⁹ The Jews gainsay this; for it has long been their custom to resist the truth perversely; they say the text is not "the virgin," but "the damsel." Even accepting their assertion, I find the truth. For we must ask them: "If a virgin is assaulted, when does she cry out and call for help, before or after the outrage?" If then the Scripture says elsewhere: "The damsel cried, and there was no one to come to her aid,"⁸⁰ does it not speak of a virgin? To learn more clearly that even a virgin is called a damsel in the Holy Scripture, hear the Book of Kings, saying of Abisag the Sunamitess: "And the damsel was exceeding beautiful";⁸¹ that she was chosen as a virgin and brought to David is admitted.

(22) But the Jews say again: "This was said to Achaz con-

⁷⁵ Hab. 3.2 (Sept.).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 3 (Sept.).

⁷⁸ Cf. Ps. 131.6.

⁷⁹ Isa. 7.14.

⁸⁰ Cf. Deut. 22.27.

⁸¹ 3 Kings 1.4.

cerning Ezechia." Therefore, let us read the Scripture: "Ask for a sign from the Lord, your God; let it be deep as the nether world, or high as the sky!"⁸² The sign surely ought to be something extraordinary. For the water from the rock⁸³ was a sign, the dividing of the sea,⁸⁴ the turning back of the sun,⁸⁵ and the like. What I am about to say contains a clearer refutation of the Jews. (I realize I am speaking at length and that my hearers are wearied. But endure the fullness of my discourse, since it is for Christ's sake that these things are discussed, and they concern no ordinary matters.) Since Isaia spoke these things in the reign of Achaz, and Achaz was king for only sixteen years, during which the prophecy was made, the fact that his successor, King Ezechia, the son of Achaz, was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, refutes the objection of the Jews. For since the prophecy was confined within sixteen years, he must have been begotten at least nine years before the prophecy. Why was it necessary to utter the prophecy about one already born? For he did not say "was with child," but "the virgin shall be with child," speaking as with foreknowledge.

(23) But that the Lord was to be born of a virgin we know clearly; now we must show of what stock the Virgin was. "The Lord swore to David a firm promise from which he will not withdraw: 'Your own offspring I will set upon your throne.'"⁸⁶ Again: "I will make his posterity endure forever and his throne as the days of heaven."⁸⁷ Then: "Once by my holiness I have sworn; I will not be false to David: his posterity shall continue forever, and his throne shall be like the sun before me; like the moon, which remains forever."⁸⁸ You see that the words concern Christ, not Solomon, for

⁸² Isa. 7.11.

⁸³ Exod. 17.6.

⁸⁴ Exod. 14.21.

⁸⁵ 4 Kings 20.11.

⁸⁶ Ps. 131.11.

⁸⁷ Ps. 88.30.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 36-38.

Solomon's throne did not endure as the sun. But if anyone should object that Christ did not sit upon the wooden throne of David, let us produce that saying: "The Scribes and the Pharisees have sat on the chair of Moses."⁸⁹ For this signifies, not the chair of wood, but the authority of his teaching. In like manner, in looking for the throne of David, seek not the throne of wood, but the kingly power itself. Take as witnesses the children who cried out: "Hosanna to the Son of David: blessed . . . is the king of Israel."⁹⁰ The blind men also say: "Son of David, have mercy on us!"⁹¹ Again, Gabriel bears witness plainly in saying to Mary: "And the Lord God will give him the throne of David his father."⁹² Paul, too, says: "Remember that Jesus Christ rose from the dead and was descended from David; this is my gospel."⁹³ In the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans, he says: "who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh."⁹⁴ Therefore, receive Him who was born of David, and heed the prophecy which says: "On that day there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to rule over the nations: in him shall the nations trust."⁹⁵

(24) But the Jews are sorely troubled at these things. This also Isaia foreknew when he said: "And they shall desire that they were burnt by fire. For a child is born to us," (not to them) "a son is given us."⁹⁶ Note too that He was first the Son of God, then was given to us. A little further on he says: "And of his peace there is no end."⁹⁷ The Romans have their limits; but there is no limit of the kingdom of the Son of God. The Persians and the Medes have their limits, but the Son of God has none. Then follows: "Upon the throne

⁸⁹ Matt. 23.2.

⁹⁰ Matt. 21.9; John 12.13.

⁹¹ Matt. 20.30.

⁹² Luke 1.32.

⁹³ 2 Tim 2.8.

⁹⁴ Rom. 1.3.

⁹⁵ Isa. 11.10 (Sept.).

⁹⁶ Isa. 9.5, 6 (Sept.).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 7.

of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it."⁹⁸ The holy Virgin, then, was sprung from David.

(25) It was fitting that He, most pure and a Teacher of purity, should issue from a pure bride-chamber. For if one who fulfills well the priestly office abstains from women, how was Jesus Himself to be born of man and woman? "For thou art he," He says in the Psalms, "that hast drawn me out of the womb."⁹⁹ Mark that carefully, "that hast drawn me out of the womb," since this signifies that He was born without man, being drawn from the womb and flesh of a virgin; for the manner is different for those born in the ordinary course of marriage.

(26) But He is not ashamed to take flesh from such members, when He framed these very members. Who tells us this? The Lord says to Jeremia: "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, before you were born I dedicated you."¹⁰⁰ If in fashioning men, therefore, He touched them and was not ashamed, was He ashamed in forming for Himself the holy flesh, the veil of His Godhead? It is God who even now creates the babes in the womb, as it is written in Job: "Did you not pour me out as milk, and thicken me like cheese. With skin and flesh you clothed me, with bones and sinews knit me together."¹⁰¹ There is nothing corrupt in man's frame unless he defiles it with adulteries and wantonness. He who formed Adam formed Eve also; and both male and female were fashioned by the Divine hands. None of the members of the body as fashioned from the beginning is corrupt. Let all heretics be silent who slander their bodies, or rather Him who formed them. But let us be mindful of Paul's words: "Do you not know that your members are the temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you?"¹⁰² Again, the Prophet has

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Ps. 21.10 (Douay).

¹⁰⁰ Jer. 1.5.

¹⁰¹ Job 10.10, 11.

¹⁰² 1 Cor. 6.19.

foretold in the person of Jesus: "My flesh is from them."¹⁰³ Elsewhere it is written: "Therefore the Lord will give them up, until the time that she brings forth."¹⁰⁴ What is the sign? There follows: "She shall bring forth, and the remnant of their brethren shall be converted."¹⁰⁵ What are the nuptial pledges of the Virgin, the holy bride? "I will espouse you to me in faith";¹⁰⁶ and Elizabeth, speaking to her, says in like manner: "And blessed is she who has believed, because the things promised her by the Lord shall be accomplished."¹⁰⁷

(27) But both Greeks and Jews deride us and say that it was impossible for Christ to be born of a virgin. Let us silence the Greeks from their own fables. For how can you, who speak of stones being cast and changed into men, assert that birth from a virgin is impossible? When your legends declare that a daughter¹⁰⁸ was born from the brain, how can you assert that a son could not have been born from a virgin's womb? You tell the false story of the birth of Dionysus from the thigh of your Zeus;¹⁰⁹ how can you set at naught our truth? I know I am speaking of what is unworthy of the hearers present, but that you, at the proper time, may reproach the Greeks, I have brought these things in to refute them from their own fables.

(28) Meet the Jews with this question: "Is it more difficult for an old woman, barren and past the age of bearing, to bear, or for a virgin in the flower of youth to have a child?" Sara was barren, and menstruation had long ceased, but contrary to nature she bore a child. It is contrary to nature for a barren woman to bear, and for a virgin to bear. Either reject both or accept both. For it is the same God who wrought the one and effected the other. For you will not

¹⁰³ Osee 9.12 (Sept.).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Mich. 5.2.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Osee 2.22.

¹⁰⁷ Luke 1.45.

¹⁰⁸ I.e., Athena.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., Euripides' *Bacchae*.

dare to say that that was possible for God, but not this. Again, it was surely unnatural for a man's hand to be changed in a single hour into a different appearance and to be again restored. How then was Moses' hand made white as snow and at once restored to its natural appearance? But you say that God, by so willing, changed it. Is it that in one case God has the power, but in this other He has not? That sign, indeed, was for the Egyptians only; but this sign was given to the whole world. Which is more difficult, O you Jews, for a virgin to give birth, or for a rod to be changed into a living thing? You confess that under Moses a perfectly straight rod, being changed into a serpent, struck with fear him who had cast it, so that he who held it fled from it as from a serpent; for it truly was a serpent; but he fled, not because he was afraid of what he held, but in dread of Him who had changed it. The rod had the fangs and eyes of a serpent; now if eyes that see are produced from a rod, cannot a child be born of a virgin's womb at God's will? I pass over the fact that the rod of Aaron brought forth in one night that which other trees do not produce in many years. For who does not know that a rod, when it has lost its bark, will never germinate, even if planted in the midst of rivers? But since God is not a servant of the nature of trees, but rather the creator of their nature, the fruitless, dry and barkless rod flowered and blossomed and brought forth almonds. For the sake of the typical high-priest God gave fruit, beyond nature, to the rod. Can it be that He would not allow a virgin to bear a child, for the sake of the true High-priest?

(29) These are goodly arguments to recall; but the Jews still object; they do not assent to the statements about the rod, unless they are persuaded by similar marvelous and praeternatural births. Therefore, question them thus: "Of whom was Eve begotten in the beginning? What mother conceived her who had no mother?" But Scripture says she was born from Adam's side. Now then, if Eve was born, without

a mother, from the side of a man, may not a child be born, without a man, from the womb of a virgin? A debt of gratitude was due from womankind; for Eve was begotten of Adam, not conceived of a mother, but, as it were, brought forth from man alone. Mary, then, paid the debt of gratitude when, not of man, but immaculately of her own self, she conceived of the Holy Spirit by the power of God.

(30) But let us take something more impressive. The production of bodies from bodies, though strange is, nevertheless, possible. For the dust of the earth to become man is still more wonderful. For a mass of clay to take on the vesture and splendor of eyes is surely more wonderful. For simple dust to issue forth at once into firm bones, soft lungs, and various other members, is a wonderful thing. For dust to become animated and traverse the earth by its own motion, and build houses, is a wonderful thing. For clay to teach and speak, and be a craftsman and a king, is wonderful. Whence, O most ignorant Jews, was Adam made? Did not God take the dust of the earth and fashion that marvelous frame? Is it possible for clay to be changed into an eye, but not for a virgin to bear a son? Can it be that what, as men think, is impossible, comes to pass rather than that which is of itself possible?

(31) Let us remember these things, brethren, and use them as weapons of defense. Let us not endure the heretics who teach that Christ's coming was in appearance only. Let us abhor too those who say that the birth of the Savior was from a man and a woman, daring to assert that He was begotten of Joseph and Mary, because it is written: "He took unto him his wife."¹¹⁰ For let us recall Jacob who, before he received Rachel, said to Laban: "Give me my wife."¹¹¹ For just as she before the marriage state was called the wife of Jacob, so Mary also, because of her betrothal, was called the

¹¹⁰ Matt. 1.26.

¹¹¹ Gen. 29.21.

wife of Joseph. Note the exactness of the Gospel, when it says: "Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a town of Galilee, called Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph,"¹¹² and what follows. Again, when the enrolling took place, and Joseph went up to be enrolled, what does the Scripture say? "And Joseph also went up from Galilee . . . to register together with Mary his espoused wife, who was with child."¹¹³ For though she was with child, it does not say "with his wife," but "with his espoused wife." For: "God sent his Son," Paul says, not born of a man and a woman, but "born of a woman"¹¹⁴ only, that is, of a virgin. We have already shown that a virgin is also called a woman. For He who makes virgin souls was born of a virgin.

(32) But you wonder at the event; she who bore Him also wondered, and said to Gabriel: "How shall this happen, since I do not know man?"¹¹⁵ But he says: "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; and therefore the Holy One to be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."¹¹⁶ His generation was pure and undefiled; for where the Holy Spirit is, there all defilement has been taken away; unsullied was the birth in the flesh of the Only-begotten from the Virgin. If the heretics deny the truth, the Holy Spirit will convict them; the overshadowing power of the Most High will be wroth; in the day of judgment Gabriel will confront them face to face; the place of the manger which received the Lord will put them to shame. The shepherds will bear witness, who then received the good tidings; and the army of the angels praising and saying: "Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth among men of good will";¹¹⁷ and the temple, into which He

¹¹² Luke 1.26, 27.

¹¹³ Luke 2.4, 5.

¹¹⁴ Gal. 4.4.

¹¹⁵ Luke 1.34.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 35.

¹¹⁷ Luke 2.14.

was brought on the fortieth day; and the pair of turtle doves offered for Him; and Simeon, who then took Him into his arms; and the prophetess, Anna, who was present.

(33) Therefore, since God bears witness and the Holy Spirit adds His testimony, and Christ says: "Why do you seek to put me to death," a man "who has spoken the truth to you?"¹¹⁸ let the heretics who deny His manhood be silent; for they speak against Him who said: "Feel me and see; for a spirit does not have flesh and bones, as you see I have."¹¹⁹ Let the Lord born of the Virgin be worshiped, and let the virgins recognize the crown of their own state. Let the order of Solitaries also acknowledge the glory of chastity; for we men are not deprived of the dignity of chastity. The Savior passed the nine months period in the womb of the Virgin; but the Lord was a man for thirty-three years; so that if a virgin glories because of the nine months, so much the more may we glory because of the many years.

(34) But let us all, by the grace of God, run the race of chastity, "young men too, and maidens, old men and boys,"¹²⁰ not pursuing wantonness but praising the name of Christ. Let us be conscious of the glory of chastity, for its crown is angelic and its perfection above man. Let us respect our bodies, which are to shine as the sun; let us not for the sake of a little pleasure defile so great and noble a body; for the sin is fleeting and of the passing hour, but the shame lasts many years and forever. Those who live chastely are as angels walking upon the earth; the virgins have their portion with Mary the Virgin. Let all vain ornament be put aside, and every harmful glance, all wanton gait and flowing robe and perfume enticing to pleasure. Let the perfume for all be the prayer of sweet odor and good works, and the sanctification of our bodies, that the Lord born of the Virgin may say of us also, both the men who practice chastity and the women

¹¹⁸ John 7.20; 8.40.

¹¹⁹ Luke 24.39.

¹²⁰ Ps. 148.12.

who wear its crown: "I will dwell and move among them, I will be their God and they shall be my people,"¹²¹ to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

¹²¹ 2 Cor. 6.16.

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quæ amarulentia nostra degultatio facit: unica in perferendo cruciatu aniequitate ac lenitate. Si osculo prodacoarguit quidem, sed non percutit: si cito corripitur, ita exprobrat, ut tamen uatur: si zelo inflammatus Malchi augladio præcide loco suo restiictus profugiat, lomiticum adveir, poposceris, filatronem obn acceperit, eunadifum introduristi benigna onristi passiones: quid majus ac præcis mortem ipsaulerit, nos conilas & injurias aus? **Quin** hæc n, atque etiamm videte) de quib e differui. Hi di: hi templa, ne quod viva viveimæ vivæ, holo

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH



ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

WORKS, VOLUME 2

Translated by Leo P. Mc Cauley, S. J.
and Anthony A. Stephenson

ificia perfecta, Dei denique, Trinitatis rata beneficio. Hi populos habent, nos gelos: hi temeritatem & audaciam, nos em: hi minas, nos orationes: hi quod perant, nos quod ferimus: hi aurum & artatum, nos repurgatam doctrinam. Feci ibi 44 duplices & triplices contignationes (agnosce Scripturæ verba) domum flatilem, fenestris distinctam: at hæc adum fide mea sublimiora sunt, nec cæ ad quos tendo. At mihi grex exiguus? in præcipitia non fertur. At angusta mitaula? sed quæ lupis non pateat, sed quæ ronem non admittat, nec a furibus, & exis transcendatur. Nec dubito quin eam oque latiore aliquando visurus sim. ultos enim ex his, qui nunc in luporum mero sunt, inter oves, ac fortasse etiam

οὐκ ὦν τὸ πικρὰν ρευσσιν ἐξέραπεν
τῆς ἐν τῷ πάθῃ μακροθυμίας· ο
τι προδοθῇ. ἐλέγχει μὲν, ἔπλη
ἄφνω συλληφθῇ, ὀνειδίζῃ μὲν, ἔπ
μαχαίρα Μάλχῃ τέμνης τὸ ὦν

ἀποκαλῆσθ
ρισελεῖ κ
τὴς ἀγωνίας
διὰ κακίαν
εἰσάξῃ διὰ
λανθρόπῃ
-ἔπαθημα
Θεῷ καὶ θαν
ὁμοίοις μηδ
ρὸς δὲ καὶ
ὅμαι, καὶ σκ
ἢ πολλάκις
τοὶ τὰς οἴκ
τ, ἡμεῖς τὸν
ὡν ὁ καὶ ζ
μαλα λογικ
ἀδ ὁ προ

ἔτοι δὴ μὲς, ἡμεῖς ἀγγέλους· ἔτ
πίσιν ἡμεῖς· ἔτοι τὸ ἀπειλεῖν, ἡμ
εὐχεσθαι· ἔτοι τὸ βάλλειν, ἡμ
ἔτοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ἡμεῖς
θαρμένον. ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ διώρ
ροφα; γινώθι τὰ ῥήματα τὰ γραφ
πιστὸν, διεσπάλμενον θυρίσιν, ἀλλ
τὸ ἐμῆς πίσεως ὑψηλότερα καὶ τ
ἔς φέρομαι. μικρόν μοι τὸ ποίμ
ἐπὶ κρημνῶν φερόμενον. σενή μ
πλήν λύκοις ἀνεπίστα, π
δεχομένη λησὴν, ἡδὲ ὑπερβαινομ
καὶ ξένοις. ὅψομαι ταύτην εὐ οἴ
τυτέραν, πολλὰς καὶ τῶν νυῶ λ
βάτοις ἀριθμῆσαι με δεῖ τυχόν

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Volume 2

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FOREWORD

It is my duty to record for our readers the death within the past fourteen months of Martin R. P. McGuire (d. March 15, 1969) and Roy J. Deferrari (d. August 24, 1969), both professors emeriti in the Department of Greek and Latin in the Catholic University of America. The two men were members of the Editorial Board of this series of translations since its inception, and Dr. Deferrari was Editorial Director from Volume 5 (1949) to Volume 58 (1967). Moreover, the volumes that have to date appeared since Dr. Deferrari became Director Emeritus were all planned by him, as were many that will appear subsequently. Not the least of his contributions to the series was his ability to achieve loyal cooperation among the corps of translators, and to this cooperation the continuance of the series is in no small measure due. As translator himself, Dr. Deferrari contributed the whole of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* (Vols. 19, 29), a full volume of Ambrose's theological and dogmatic works (44), the volume of Orosius (50), and a part of the first volume (13) of Basil's letters; and he collaborated in the production of five other volumes (4, 13, 15, 22, 36). From Dr. McGuire, had he lived, the series would have received a full translation of the works of Theodoret, a task left unfinished when he died. Actual contributions from his pen were his eloquent rendering of Ambrose's orations on his brother Satyrus that forms part of Volume 22 and the magisterial essay "The Early Christian Funeral Oratio" that opens that volume. These pages, for all their excellence, do not in any way measure the contribution that Dr. McGuire made to the series; the debt that his survivors on the Board owe him lies

also in the voice of kindly authority that could always be expected from him and the patience and learning he displayed as he spent long hours assisting fellow translators in their work of revision.

* * * * *

In the present volume, Fathers McCauley and Stephenson bring to an end the translation of St. Cyril of Jerusalem they began in Volume 61. Father McCauley has translated, with a brief Foreword, the remaining *Catecheses*; all else is the work of Father Stephenson. Except for the *Mystagogiae*, for which the recent edition of Piédagnel was used, the two translators have based their work on the Reischl-Rupp edition (Munich 1848/60).

June 1, 1970

BERNARD M. PEEBLES
Editorial Director

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My thanks are due to my friend and colleague, the Revd M. J. Moreton, who, graciously reading most of my manuscript at the galley-proof stage, saved me from some mistakes.

ANTHONY A. STEPHENSON

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* This bibliography in part resumes and in part supplements that in Volume I; see also below, p. 143, n. 2. Where a work is cited only by the name of its author, the reference is to his work listed in this bibliography.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANF	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers.</i>
ApCo	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i> , ed. F. X. Funk.
ApTrad	Hippolytus, <i>The Apostolic Tradition</i> , ed. G. Dix.
Cat.	Cyril of Jerusalem, <i>Lenten Lectures (Catecheses)</i> .
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.</i>
Denzinger	H. Denzinger, <i>Enchiridion symbolorum . . .</i> , 32nd ed. by A. Schönmetzer, S.J. (Freiburg i. B. 1963).
Dix	G. Dix, <i>The Shape of the Liturgy</i> .
Dix, TCB	———, <i>The Theology of Confirmation in Relation to Baptism</i> .
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , ed. A. Vacant et al. (Paris 1903-1950).

FOTC	<i>The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation</i>
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller</i> (Leipzig 1897ff.).
<i>Hist. Eccl.</i> (H.E.)	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> .
LCC	<i>Library of Christian Classics</i> .
LCF	<i>Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church</i> .
LNPF	<i>A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church</i> .
LTK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> (2d ed., Freiburg i. B. 1957ff.).
<i>Myst.</i>	Cyril of Jerusalem, <i>Easter Lectures</i> (<i>Mystagogiae</i>).
PG	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> .
PGL	G. W. H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> .
PL	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> .
RR	The Reischl-Rupp edition of Cyril of Jerusalem.
Telfer	W. Telfer, <i>Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesis of Emesa</i> .

CORRIGENDA TO VOL. 1 (FOTC 61)

Pages vii, ix, 1 n., 38, 41, 76 n., 78 n., 79 n., 83 n., 268: *for* Toutée *read* Touttée.

Page ix, 7th entry (W. Telfer): *for* Letter of Constantius *read* Letter to Constantius.

Page xi, 4th abbreviation: *for* DHG *read* DHC.

Page 61, line 14: *for* to the third clause, and the fourth clause, *read* to the fourth clause, and the third clause, . . .

Page 89, 2nd par.: *for* Ch. 24 *read* Ch. 34.

LENTEN LECTURES

(Katēchēseis)

XIII-XVIII

Translated by

LEO P. McCAULEY, S.J.

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FOREWORD TO CATECHESSES 13-18



THESE LECTURES DEAL with the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ (13), His Resurrection, Ascension and Sitting with the Father (14), His coming as Judge of the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will be no end (15). Two lectures are devoted to the Holy Spirit (16-17), and the pre-baptismal *Catecheses* close with a discourse on the Holy Catholic Church, the Resurrection of the flesh, and life everlasting. The profusion of Scripture texts is even more marked than in the preceding *Catecheses*. Cyril's own words (13.8) help to explain this emphasis on inspired testimony: "For everything that concerns Christ has been written; there is nothing doubtful, since nothing is unattested. All has been inscribed in prophetic records, clearly written . . . by the Holy Spirit." The accommodation of Scripture texts is often forced and sometimes even strange, and one may doubt whether Cyril's listening audience could follow the evolution of his thought. It is possible also that corruption in the manuscript tradition has been responsible for some of the difficulties in the text.

The Greek text used for the first twelve *Catecheses* has been used also for the last six—that of Reischl and Rupp (Munich 1848-60); and, as before, when the Greek of Cyril's biblical quotations does not require adaptation or new wording, the English renderings of Scripture are taken from the version published under the patronage of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.

LEO P. McCAULEY, S.J.

CATECHESIS XIII

On the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ

“Who would believe what we have heard? To whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?”¹ “Like a lamb led to the slaughter or a sheep before his shearers, he was silent and opened not his mouth.”²

(1) The Catholic Church glories in every action of Christ, but her glory of glories is the Cross. Knowing this, Paul says: “But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.”³ It was a wonderful thing for the man blind from birth to receive his sight in Siloe, but what is that compared to the blind of all the world? It was a marvel beyond nature for Lazarus to rise again after four days; there, with Lazarus, the grace stopped; what was it compared to the raising of all men from the tomb of sin? It was wonderful that five loaves should supply food for five thousand, but what was that compared to the feeding of those famishing in ignorance throughout the world? The release of the woman bound by Satan for eighteen years was a portent, but more wonderful was the release of all of us held fast in the meshes of our sins. The glory of the Cross has at one and the same time led into the light those blind through ignorance, has delivered all bound in sin, and redeemed all mankind.

(2) Do not wonder that the whole world was redeemed, for it was no mere man, but the Only-begotten Son of God

¹ Isa. 53.1.

² *Ibid.* 7.

³ Cf. Gal. 6.14.

who died for it. The sin of one man, Adam, availed to bring death to the world; if by one man's offense death reigned for the world, why should not life reign all the more "from the justice of the one"?⁴ If Adam and Eve were cast out of paradise because of the tree from which they ate, should not believers more easily enter into paradise because of the Tree of Jesus? If the first man, fashioned out of the earth, brought universal death, shall not He who fashioned him, being the Life, bring everlasting life? If Phinees by his zeal in slaying the evildoer appeased the wrath of God, shall not Jesus, who slew no other, but "gave himself a ransom for all,"⁵ take away God's wrath against man?

(3) Therefore let us not be ashamed of the Cross of our Savior, but rather glory in it; "for the doctrine of the cross" is "to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Gentiles foolishness,"⁶ but to us salvation, "foolishness to those who perish but to those who are saved, that is, to us, it is the power of God."⁷ For as I said before, it was not a mere man who died for us, but the Son of God, God made man. If under Moses the lamb kept the destroyer away, did not "the Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world,"⁸ all the more deliver us from our sins? The blood of a brute sheep accorded salvation; shall not the blood of the Only-begotten much more save us? If any man doubts the power of the Crucified, let him question the devils; if any man doubts words, let him believe the evident facts. Many have been crucified throughout the world, but of none of these are the demons afraid. For these died because of their own sins, but Christ for the sins of others; for He "did not sin, neither was deceit found

4 Rom. 5.18. Though the sin of Adam brought the doom of physical death to man, the emphasis in this chapter is rather on the death of the soul, on original sin and the sins of mankind for which the sin of Adam paved the way.

5 Cf. 1 Tim. 2.6; on Phinees, Num. 25.7.

6 1 Cor. 1.18, 23.

7 *Ibid.*

8 John 1.29.

in his mouth.”⁹ It was not Peter, who could be suspected of partiality, who said this, but Isaia, who, though not present in the flesh, in spirit foresaw His coming in the flesh. But why do I bring only the prophet as a witness? Take the witness of Pilate himself, who passed judgment on Him, saying: “I find no guilt in this man”;¹⁰ and when he delivered Him up and washed his hands, he said: “I am innocent of the blood of this just man.”¹¹ There is also another witness to the sinlessness of Jesus in the robber, the first man to enter paradise; he rebuked his fellow and said: “‘We are receiving what our deeds deserved: but this man has done nothing wrong,’ for we were present, you and I, at His judgment.”¹²

(4) Jesus truly suffered for all men. For the Cross was no illusion; otherwise our redemption also is an illusion. His death was not imaginary; otherwise our salvation is an idle tale. If His death was imaginary, they were right who said: “We have remembered how that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, ‘After three days I will rise again.’”¹³ Therefore His passion was real, for He was truly crucified, and we are not ashamed of it. He was crucified and we do not deny it, but rather do I glory in speaking of it. For if I should now deny it, Golgotha here, close to which we are now gathered, refutes me; the wood of the Cross, now distributed piecemeal from Jerusalem over all the world, refutes me. I confess the Cross, because I know of the Resurrection; had the Cross been the end, perhaps I would not have confessed it, but concealed both it and my Master; however, since the Cross was followed by the Resurrection, I am not ashamed to avow it.

⁹ 1 Peter 2.22.

¹⁰ Luke 23.14.

¹¹ Matt. 27.24.

¹² Luke 23.41. That the two robbers were present at the judgment of Christ seems rather unlikely. Cyril assumes perhaps that they were condemned to be crucified at the same time as Christ.

¹³ Matt. 27.63.

(5) Being in the flesh like other men, He was crucified, but not for sins men commit. He was not led to death for love of gain, for He was a teacher of poverty; He was not condemned for lust, for He said plainly: "Anyone who even looks with lust at a woman has already committed adultery with her";¹⁴ not for smiting or striking impetuously, for He turned the other cheek to the smiter; not for despising the Law, for He was the fulfiller of the Law; not for reviling a prophet, for He was proclaimed by the prophets; not for defrauding men of their hire, for He ministered freely, without recompense; not for sinning in word or deed or thought: "Who did no sin, neither was deceit found in his mouth. Who, when he was reviled, did not revile, when he suffered, did not threaten";¹⁵ who came to His passion, not unwillingly, but willingly; and if anyone even now should attempt to dissuade Him and say: "Far be it from thee, O Lord,"¹⁶ He will say again: "Get behind me, Satan."¹⁷

(6) Do you wish to be convinced that He came to His passion willingly? Others, ignorant of their fate, die against their will, but He foretold His passion: Behold, "the Son of Man will be delivered up to be crucified."¹⁸ Do you know why this Lover of man did not shun death? To prevent the whole world from perishing in its sins. "Behold we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be betrayed and crucified";¹⁹ and again: "He steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem."²⁰ Would you know clearly that the Cross is a glory to Jesus? Listen to His words, not mine. Judas, grown ungrateful to the Master, was intent on betraying Him. Going forth from the table where he had drunk His cup of blessing, he sought, in return for that draught of salvation, to shed

14 Matt. 5.28.

15 1 Peter 2.22, 23.

16 Matt. 16.22.

17 *Ibid.* 23.

18 Matt. 26.2

19 Matt. 20.18, 19.

20 Luke 9.51.

just blood. "Who ate his bread lifted up his heel against him."²¹ He had just received the blessed gifts and at once he was plotting His death for the wages of betrayal.²² When he had been convicted and heard the words: "Thou has said it,"²³ he went forth again; then Jesus said: "The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified."²⁴ Do you see how He knew the Cross to be his own peculiar glory? If Isaia is not ashamed of being sawn asunder, shall Christ be ashamed of dying for the world? "Now is the Son of Man glorified";²⁵ not that He lacked glory before, for He was glorified with the glory which He had before the creation of the world. As God He was glorified from eternity; now He was being glorified, having borne the crown of His patience. He did not give up His life perforce, nor was He put to death by violence, but of His own will. Hear what He says: "'I have the power to lay down my life, and I have the power to take it up again.'²⁶ I yield it to My enemies of My own choice, for unless I willed it so, it could not be." He came, then, of His own free choice to His passion, rejoicing in His noble deed, smiling at the crown, cheered by the salvation of men; He was not ashamed of the Cross, for it saved the world. It was no ordinary man who suffered, but God in man's nature, striving for the reward of His patience.

(7) The Jews, of course, ever ready to object and slow to believe, deny this; hence the prophet just read says: "Who would believe what we have heard?"²⁷ The Persians believe but not the Hebrews. "They who have not been told of him

²¹ Cf. Ps. 40.10.

²² Cyril seems to imply that Judas had received the sacred species before he left the supper room.

²³ Matt. 26.25.

²⁴ John 12.23.

²⁵ John 13.31.

²⁶ John 10.18.

²⁷ Isa. 53.1. The Benedictine editor has noted a close parallel between what follows to the end of the lecture and Rufinus' exposition of the same article of the Creed (*Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum*, 19 sqq.) and has no doubt that Rufinus borrowed freely from Cyril.

shall see, and they who have not heard shall understand";²⁸ yes, the people whose study is the Scriptures reject what they study. They answer: "Does the *Lord* then suffer? and did the hands of men prevail over His sovereignty?" Read the Lamentations, for in them Jeremia, lamenting you, has written what is worth a lament. He saw your ruin, he beheld your downfall; he bewailed the Jerusalem that then was, for that which now is shall not be bewailed.²⁹ For that Jerusalem crucified Christ, but that which now is worships Him. Therefore, lamenting he says: "The breath of our mouth, Christ the Lord is taken in our sins."³⁰ Do I invent what I say? You see he bears witness to the Christ seized by men. What follows? Tell me, O prophet. But he says: "Of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the Gentiles."³¹ He indicates that the grace of life will no longer abide in Israel, but among the Gentiles.

(8) Since their denials are manifold, let us attempt to adduce, by the Lord's grace, a few testimonies concerning the passion, with the help of your prayers, and as the shortness of time allows. For everything that concerns Christ has been written; there is nothing doubtful, since nothing is unattested. All has been inscribed in prophetic records, clearly written, not on tablets of stone, but by the Holy Spirit. You have heard the Gospel's account of the deeds of Judas; ought you not to receive testimony of this? You have heard that His side was pierced by a spear; should you not see whether this also is written? You have heard that He was crucified in a garden; ought you not to see if this is written? You have heard that He was sold for thirty pieces of silver; should you not learn what prophet said this? You have

²⁸ Rom. 15.21.

²⁹ By "the Jerusalem that then was" Cyril means the Jerusalem captured and destroyed by Titus and reduced to further ruin by Hadrian. The boundaries of the later Jerusalem did not coincide with those of the old city.

³⁰ Lam. 4.20 (Douay).

³¹ Cf. *ibid.*

heard that He was given vinegar to drink; learn where even this is written. You have heard that His body was laid in a rock, and a stone placed thereon; should you not get testimony of this also from the prophet? You have heard that He was buried; should you not see whether the circumstances of His burial were written down accurately? You have heard that He rose again; should you not see whether we are mocking you in teaching all this? "My speech and my preaching were not in the persuasive words of human wisdom."³² No sophistical artifices are being advanced, for sophistry is always unmasked; arguments and counterarguments cancel out. "But we preach a crucified Christ,"³³ proclaimed beforehand by the prophets. Seal these testimonies, when you receive them, in your heart. But since they are many, and the time remaining is short, hear now, when you may, a few testimonies of greater moment; and taking these as a start, be diligent and seek out the rest. Let not your hand be stretched out merely to receive, but let it be ready to work. God bestows all things freely. "If any of you is wanting in wisdom, let him ask it of God who gives,"³⁴ and he shall receive. Through your prayers may He grant utterance to us who speak, and faith to you who hear.

(9) Therefore let us seek the testimonies to Christ's passion. For we have come together now not to make a speculative exposition of the Scriptures, but rather to be convinced of what we already believe. Previously you received from me testimonies concerning the coming of Jesus and His walking upon the sea; for it is written: "Through the sea was your way."³⁵ You listened on another occasion to testimony of divers cures. I will now start with the beginning of the passion. Judas the traitor came and stood opposite Him, speaking words of peace but plotting enmity. Of him the

³² 1 Cor. 2.4.

³³ 1 Cor. 1.23.

³⁴ James 1.5.

³⁵ Ps. 76.20.

Psalmist says: "My friends and my neighbors have drawn near and stood against me."³⁶ Again: "Their words are smoother than oil and the same are darts."³⁷ "Hail, Rabbi,"³⁸ and he delivered his master to death; he did not regard the words of His warning: "Judas, dost thou betray the Son of Man with a kiss?"³⁹ For He had all but said: "Recollect your own name—Judas signifies confession—you have made your bargain, you have received the money, confess quickly." "O God, whom I praise, be not silent, for they have opened wicked and treacherous mouths against me. They have spoken to me with lying tongues; and with words of hatred they have encompassed me."⁴⁰ Some of the chief priests were present, and Christ was put in bonds before the gates of the city, as you heard recently, if you recall the exposition of the psalm designating the time and the place; how "they returned at evening, and suffered hunger like dogs and prowled about the city."⁴¹

(10) Harken now in regard to the thirty pieces of silver. "And I will say to them, 'If it seems good to you, give me my wages, or refuse.'"⁴² One recompense is due Me for curing the blind and the lame, and I receive another; instead of thanksgiving, dishonor, and instead of worship, insult. Do you see how Scripture foresaw all this? "And they counted out my wages, thirty pieces of silver."⁴³ O prophetic accuracy! A great and unerring wisdom of the Holy Spirit! For he did not say ten, nor twenty, but thirty, exactly the right amount. Tell also what happened to this payment, O prophet! Does he who received it keep it or does he give it back? And after its return what becomes of it? The prophet says: "So I

³⁶ Cf. Ps. 37.12.

³⁷ Ps. 54.22 (Douay).

³⁸ Matt. 26.49.

³⁹ Luke 22.48.

⁴⁰ Ps. 108.1-3.

⁴¹ Cf. Ps. 58.7. The exposition of the psalm which Cyril refers to must have occurred in a homily not connected with the catechetical lectures.

⁴² Zach. 11.12 (Sept.).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

took the thirty pieces of silver, and I cast them into the house of the Lord, into the foundry.”⁴⁴ Compare with the prophecy the Gospel which says: “Judas repented and flung the pieces of silver into the temple, and withdrew.”⁴⁵

(11) Here I seek a precise explanation of the apparent discrepancy. They who disregard the prophets assert that the prophet says: “And I cast them into the house of the Lord, into the foundry,” while the Gospel says: “And they gave them for the potter’s field.”⁴⁶ Hear how both statements are true. Those conscientious Jews, of course, the chief priests of that time, seeing Judas repentant and saying: “I have sinned in betraying innocent blood,” reply: “What is that to us? See to it thyself.”⁴⁷ Does it then mean nothing to you, the crucifiers? Shall he who received the price of murder and returned it see to it, but you, the murderers, will not see to it? Then they say among themselves: “It is not lawful to put them into the *corbona*, because it is the price of blood.”⁴⁸ From your own mouths comes your condemnation. If the price is abominable, the deed also is abominable; but if in crucifying Christ you fulfill justice, why do you not receive the price? But the point of the inquiry was this, how there is no disagreement, when the Gospel on the one hand says “potter’s field,” but the prophet on the other hand says “foundry.” The fact is that goldsmiths and coppersmiths are not the only craftsmen who have foundries, but potters too have foundries for their clay. For they sift the fine, rich and useful earth from the gravel, and setting aside the mass of impure matter, they first soften the clay with water, to work it more easily into the forms intended. Why do you wonder that the Gospel says plainly “potter’s field,” while the prophet spoke his prophecy in the form of an enigma, since prophecy is generally enigmatical?

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 13.

⁴⁵ Matt. 27.3, 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 6.

(12) They bound Jesus and led Him to the hall of the high priest. Would you know and see that this also is written? Isaia says: "Woe to their souls, because they have taken evil counsel against themselves, saying: 'Let us bind the just, for he is troublesome to us.'"⁴⁹ Truly indeed "Woe to their souls"! Let us see how. Isaia was sawn asunder; yet after this the people was restored. Jeremia was cast into the mire of a dungeon, but the wound of the Jews was healed; for the sin was less, since it was against man. But when the Jews sinned, not against man, but against God become man, "Woe to their souls"!—"Let us bind the just"; but could He not have set Himself free, someone will say, He who freed Lazarus from the bonds of death after four days, and freed Peter from the iron fetters? Angels were ready at hand, saying: "Let us break their fetters," but they hold back, because the Lord willed to suffer thus. Again He was led to the tribunal before the ancients; you have heard the testimony already: "The Lord enters into judgment with his people's elders and princes."⁵⁰

(13) The high priest questioned Him and after hearing the truth, tenses; and the wicked servant of wicked men gives Him a blow; and that face, which had shone as the sun, endured to be struck by impious hands. Others come to spit in the face of Him who by spittle had cured the man blind from birth. Is this the return you make to the Lord? This people is stupid and foolish. The prophet in wonder says: "Who would believe what we have heard?"⁵¹ For it was incredible that God, the Son of God, and the Arm of the Lord should suffer all this. But lest those to be saved disbelieve, the Holy Spirit predicts this in the person of Christ, who says (for He who then spoke these words afterwards fulfilled them): "I gave my back to those who beat me";⁵²

49 Isa. 3.9, 10 (Sept.).

50 Isa. 3.14.

51 Isa. 53.1.

52 Isa. 50.6.

for Pilate scourged Him and delivered Him to be crucified; "and my cheeks to blows; and my face I did not shield from the shame of spittings";⁵³ as though He were to say: "Though I knew beforehand that they would strike Me, I did not even turn aside My cheek; for how could I have nerved My disciples to undergo death for the truth, if I had been afraid? I said: 'He who loves his life shall lose it';⁵⁴ if I had loved My life, how could I have taught this, not practicing what I taught?" He who was Himself God first endured these sufferings from men to make us men unashamed to endure like sufferings for Him. You see that the prophets have clearly foretold all this. To repeat, I omit further testimonies from Scripture for want of time; for if one were to track down each point, nothing concerning Christ would be left unattested.

(14) Having been bound, Christ went from Caiphas to Pilate; is this also written? Yes; "And having bound him, they led him away as a present to the King of Jarim."⁵⁵ But some keen listener will object: "Pilate was not a king" (let us pass over for the time the main points of the inquiry); "How then, having bound Him, did they lead Him as a present to the king?" But read the Gospel; Pilate, hearing that He was from Galilee, sent Him to Herod; for Herod was then king and was present in Jerusalem. Notice the exactness of the prophet; for he says that He was sent as a present; for "Herod and Pilate became friends that very day; whereas previously they had been at enmity with each other."⁵⁶ It was fitting that He, who was to restore peace between earth and heaven, should first put at peace the very men who condemned Him, for the Lord Himself was there

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ John 12.25.

⁵⁵ Osee 10.6 (Sept.). The accommodation of the Old Testament text may seem strained, but Cyril had the example of Justin (*Dialogue with Trypho* 103) before him, and Rufinus after him drew the same parallel.

⁵⁶ Luke 23.12.

present, "who reconciles the hearts of the princes of the earth."⁵⁷ Mark the exactness of the prophets, and their truthful testimony.

(15) Contemplate with awe the Lord being judged. He suffered Himself to be led and borne about by the soldiers. Pilate sat in judgment, and He who sits at the right hand of the Father stood and was judged. The people whom he had freed from Egypt and often from other places kept shouting against Him: "Away with him! Away with him! Crucify him!"⁵⁸ Why, O you Jews? Because He healed your blind? or because He made your lame to walk, and bestowed His other blessings? The prophet in astonishment speaks of this also: "At whom do you open wide your mouth and put out your tongue?"⁵⁹ The Lord Himself says in the prophets: "My heritage has turned on me like a lion in the jungle; because she has roared against me, I treat her as an enemy."⁶⁰ "I have not renounced them but they have renounced Me; therefore I say: 'I abandon my house.'"⁶¹

(16) When He was judged He held His peace, and Pilate was moved in His behalf and said: "Do you not hear what they testify against you?"⁶² It was not that he knew Him who was being judged, but he feared his wife's dream which had been reported to him. Jesus held His peace. The Psalmist says: "I am become like a man who neither hears nor has in his mouth a retort,"⁶³ and again: "But I am like a deaf man, hearing not, like a dumb man who opens not his mouth."⁶⁴ You have heard this before, if you recall.

(17) The soldiers who surrounded Him mock Him. Their Lord becomes their plaything, and their Master is made a

⁵⁷ Cf. Job 12.24.

⁵⁸ John 19.15.

⁵⁹ Isa. 57.4.

⁶⁰ Jer. 12.8.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 7.

⁶² Cf. Matt. 27.13.

⁶³ Ps. 37.15.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 14.

mockery. "When they see me, they shake their heads."⁶⁵ Yet the figure of the kingly state is there; though they mock Him, they bow the knee. The soldiers crucify Him after first putting on Him a purple garment; and they place a crown upon His head; what though it be of thorns? Every king is proclaimed by soldiers; it was fitting that Jesus also, in figure, be crowned by soldiers. For this reason Scripture says in the Canticles: "Daughters of Jerusalem, come forth and look upon King Solomon in the crown with which his mother has crowned him."⁶⁶ But the crown was also a mystery, for it was a remission of sins, and release from the sentence of condemnation.

(18) Adam received the sentence: "Cursed be the earth in your works, thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you."⁶⁷ So Jesus assumes the thorns to remove the condemnation; so also He was buried in the earth, to have the earth which had been cursed receive a blessing instead of the curse. At the time of the sin Adam and Eve clothed themselves with fig leaves; consequently Jesus made the fig tree the last of His signs. When He was about to go to His passion, He cursed the fig tree—not every fig tree, but that alone for the sake of the figure—saying: "May no one ever eat fruit of thee henceforward forever."⁶⁸ Let the doom be canceled. Because of old they clothed themselves with fig leaves, He came at a season when fruit is not found on the tree. Who is unaware that in winter the fig tree does not bear fruit, but is clothed in leaves only? Was Jesus ignorant of that which all know? No, but though He knew, He came as though He were seeking, not unaware that He would not find, but making the figurative curse apply only to the leaves.

(19) We have touched on the story of Paradise, and I am truly amazed at the verisimilitude of the types. In Paradise

⁶⁵ Ps. 108.25.

⁶⁶ Cant. 3.11.

⁶⁷ Cf. Gen. 3.17, 18.

⁶⁸ Mark 11.14.

(the garden of Eden) was the fall, and in a garden our salvation. From the tree came sin, and until the Tree sin lasted. When the Lord was walking in Paradise in the afternoon Adam and Eve hid themselves; and in the afternoon the robber is brought into Paradise by the Lord. But some one will say: "You are inventing sophistries; show me from a prophet the Wood of the Cross; unless you produce testimony from a prophet, I am not convinced." Harken to Jeremia and be convinced: "I was as a meek lamb that is carried to be a victim; did I not know it?"⁶⁹ (For read it thus as a question, as I have put it. For He who said: "You know that after two days the passover shall be here, and the Son of Man will be delivered up to be crucified,"⁷⁰ did He not know?) "I was as a meek lamb, that is carried to be a victim; did I not know it?" (What sort of lamb? Let John the Baptist interpret, when he says: "Behold the lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world!"⁷¹) "They devised a wicked counsel against me, saying (was it that He who knew the counsels did not know their issue? And what did they say?): 'Come, and let us put wood on his bread.' " (If the Lord shall count you worthy, hereafter you shall learn that His body, according to the Gospel, bore the figure of bread.) "Come, and let us put wood on his bread, and cut him off from the land of the living." (Life is not cut off; why do you toil to no purpose?) "And let his name be remembered no more."⁷² Your counsel is vain; for before the sun His name abides in the Church. That it was truly Life which hung upon the Cross Moses declares, weeping: "And thy life shall hang before thine eyes; thou shalt fear night and day, neither shalt thou trust thy life."⁷³ Apropos is the text just now read: "Lord, who has believed what we have heard?"⁷⁴

69 Jer. 11.19 (Sept.).

70 Matt. 26.2.

71 John 1.29.

72 Jer. 11.19 (Sept.).

73 Deut. 28.66 (Sept.).

74 Cf. Isa. 53.1. See above at n. 51.

(20) The Cross was prefigured by Moses when he fixed the serpent on a pole; anyone bitten by the living serpent who looked upon the brazen serpent was saved by faith. Can salvation come from a brazen serpent, fixed on a cross, but not from the incarnate Son of God crucified? Life ever comes from wood. In the time of Noe the preservation of life came from a wooden ark. In Moses' time the sea, on beholding the figurative rod, gave way before him who struck it; could the rod of Moses be so mighty, and the Cross of the Savior powerless? I pass over most of the types for the sake of brevity. In the time of Moses the wood sweetened the water; and the water from Jesus' side flowed upon the wood.

(21) The first signs under Moses were blood and water, and the last of all the signs of Jesus were the same. First Moses changed the river into blood; and at the end Jesus discharged water with blood from His side. Perhaps it was because of the two utterances, one of His judge, the other of those who shouted against Him; or because of the believers and unbelievers. For Pilate said, "I am innocent," and washed his hands with water; they who shouted against Him said, "His blood be on us";⁷⁵ these two, then, came from His side, water perhaps for him who judged Him, but blood for them who shouted against Him. There is still another interpretation: the blood was for the Jews, the water for the Christians; for on the Jews, as plotters, came the sentence of condemnation, but to you who now believe, salvation comes by water. Nothing has been done without purpose. Our fathers gave still another explanation. Since in the Gospels the power of salutary Baptism is twofold, one granted by water to those receiving the sacrament, but a second granted to holy martyrs in the time of persecution by blood, therefore blood and water came forth from the side of the savior to confirm the grace of confession made for Christ, whether in Baptism or on the occasion of martyrdom. There is still another reason

⁷⁵ Matt. 27.24, 25.

in regard to His side. The originator of sin was a woman, formed from the side of Adam; but when Jesus came to grant pardon freely to men and women alike, he was pierced in the side for woman's sake, to undo the sin.⁷⁶

(22) Further inquiry will discover other reasons, but those given are enough, because of the shortness of the time and to avoid exhausting the attention of my hearers. Yet one should never grow weary of hearing about our crowned Lord, especially on this holy Golgotha. For others merely hear, but we see and touch. Therefore, let no one grow weary; take arms against the adversaries for the sake of the Cross itself; set up the faith of the Cross as a trophy against objectors. When you are to dispute with unbelievers concerning the Cross of Christ, first make with your hand the sign of the Cross of Christ, and the objector will be silenced. Do not be ashamed to confess the Cross. For angels glory in it, saying: We "know that you seek Jesus, who was crucified."⁷⁷ Could you not have said, O angel, "I know you seek my Master?" But he says with confidence, "I know the Crucified." For the Cross is a crown, not a dishonor.

(23) Let us return to the proposed proof from the prophets. The Lord was crucified; you have received the testimonies. You see this place of Golgotha. With a cry of praise you assent. See that you never deny it in the time of persecution. Let not the Cross be a joy to you merely in the time of peace, but keep the same faith during persecution. Do not be a friend of Jesus in the time of peace and His foe in the time of wars. You receive now the remission of your sins and the graces of the spiritual bounty of your King. When war comes, strive courageously for your King. Jesus, who did no sin, was crucified for you; will you not face crucifixion for Him in turn? You are not bestowing a favor, for you have first received; you are returning a favor, repaying the debt

⁷⁶ This curious reason why the side of Christ was pierced (i.e. for woman's sake) is found in many ancient sources.

⁷⁷ Matt. 28.5.

to Him who was crucified for you on Golgotha. Golgotha is interpreted 'the place of a skull.' Who were they who prophetically named this spot Golgotha, where Christ the true Head endured the Cross? As the Apostle says, "He is the image of the invisible God";⁷⁸ and subsequently: "Again, he is the head of his body, the Church."⁷⁹ Again: "The head of every man is Christ";⁸⁰ and "Who is the head of every Principality and Power."⁸¹ The Head suffered in "the place of the skull." O great and prophetic appellation! The very name all but reminds you, saying: "Think not of the Crucified as a mere man; He is 'the head of every Principality and Power.'" The Head which was crucified is the Head of all power and has the Father for His Head; for "the head of man is Christ; and the head of Christ is God."⁸²

(24) Christ, then, was crucified for us; He was judged in the night, when it was cold, and therefore a fire of coals was laid. He was crucified at the third hour; and "from the sixth hour there was darkness until the ninth hour";⁸³ but from the ninth hour there was light again. Are these details written down? Let us inquire. Zacharia says: "And it shall come to pass in that day, and there shall be no light, but cold and frost through one day, (the cold on account of which Peter warmed himself,) and that day shall be known to the Lord."⁸⁴ (What? Did He not know the other days? There are many days, but "this is the day [of the Lord's patience] the Lord has made.")⁸⁵ "And that day shall be known to the Lord, and not day nor night."⁸⁶ What dark saying does the prophet utter? That day is neither day nor night. What then shall we call it? The Gospel interprets it, telling of the event. It was

⁷⁸ Col. 1.15.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 18.

⁸⁰ 1 Cor. 11.3.

⁸¹ Col. 2.10.

⁸² 1 Cor. 11.3.

⁸³ Matt. 27.45.

⁸⁴ Zach. 14.6, 7 (Douay).

⁸⁵ Ps. 117.24.

⁸⁶ Zach. 14.6, 7 (Douay).

not day, for the sun did not shine without interruption from rising to setting, but from the sixth hour to the ninth there was darkness. The darkness was interposed; but God called the darkness night. Therefore it was neither day nor night; for it was neither all light, so as to be called day, nor all darkness, so as to be called night; but after the ninth hour the sun shone forth. This also the prophet foretells; for after saying "not day nor night," he adds: "And in the time of the evening there shall be light."⁸⁷ Do you see the exactness of the prophets? Do you see the truth of the events foretold?

(25) Do you seek at what hour exactly the sun failed? Was it the fifth hour or the eighth or the tenth? Give the exact hour, O prophet, to the unheeding Jews; when did the sun set? The prophet Amos says: "On that day, says the Lord God, I will make the sun set at midday" (for there was darkness from the sixth hour) "and cover the earth with darkness in broad daylight."⁸⁸ What season is this, O prophet, and what sort of day? "I will turn your feasts into mourning"⁸⁹ (for it was in the Azymes that this event took place, and at the feast of the Pasch); then he says: "I will make them mourn as for an only son, and bring their day to a bitter end."⁹⁰ For the day of Azymes and at the time of the feast the women mourned and wept, and the Apostles who had hidden themselves were overwhelmed with anguish. How wonderful the prophecy!

(26) But someone will say: "Give me still another sign; what other exact sign is there of the event?" Jesus was crucified, and He had but one tunic and one cloak. The soldiers cut the cloak into four parts and divided it among themselves; but the tunic was not cut, because, if it were cut, it would no longer be of any use; so lots were cast for it by the soldiers; they divided the cloak, but for the tunic they

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Amos 8.9 (Sept.).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 10.

cast lots. Is this also written about? They know, the zealous cantors of the Church, who imitate the angelic hosts and sing praises to God continually; they are counted worthy to sing psalms here on Golgotha, and to say: "They divide my garments among them and for my vesture they cast lots."⁹¹ The "lots" were cast by the soldiers.

(27) Again, when He was judged by Pilate, He was clothed in red, for there "they put on him a scarlet cloak."⁹² Is this also written? Isaia says: "Who is this that comes from Edom, in crimson garments from Bosra?"⁹³ (Who is that who for shame is clothed in scarlet? For Bosra among the Hebrews has such a meaning.) "Why is your apparel red, and your garments like those of the wine presser?"⁹⁴ But He answers and says: "I have stretched out my hands all the day to an unbelieving and rebellious people."⁹⁵

(28) He stretched out His hands on the Cross to encompass the ends of the world; for this Golgotha is the very center of the earth. This is not my saying; it is a prophet who has said: "You wrought salvation in the midst of the earth."⁹⁶ He who by spiritual hands had established the heavens stretched out human hands; they were fastened with nails that when His humanity, which bore the sins of men, had been nailed to the tree and died, sin might die at the same time, and we might rise again in justice. For as through one man came death, so also through one Man came life; through one Man, that is, the Savior, dying of His own free choice; remember what He said: "I have power to lay my life down, and I have power to take it up again."⁹⁷

(29) He suffered all this because He had come for the

91 Ps. 21.19; Matt. 27.35. It is quite possible that some of the candidates for Baptism were among the choir who sang the psalms.

92 Matt. 27.28.

93 Isa. 63.1.

94 *Ibid.* 2.

95 Cf. Isa. 65.2.

96 Cf. Ps. 73.12 (Douay). This text surely has no geographical connotations; the accommodation of it to Golgotha is obviously forced.

97 John 10.18.

salvation of all; yet the people returned Him an evil recompense. Jesus says, "I thirst,"⁹⁸ He who had brought forth water from the flinty rock for them; He asked fruit of the vine He had planted. What happens? This vine, of holy fathers by nature but of Sodom by inclination (for "they are a branch of Sodom's winestock, from the vineyards of Gomorra"),⁹⁹ this vine offers to the Lord, when He was thirsty, a sponge filled with vinegar upon a reed. "They put gall in my food, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink."¹⁰⁰ See how clear was the prediction of the prophets. But what sort of gall did they put in My mouth? "They gave him," it says, "wine mixed with myrrh."¹⁰¹ Myrrh is like gall in taste, and very bitter. "Is the Lord to be thus repaid by you?"¹⁰² Are these the offerings you make to your Master, O vine? Justly did Isaia bewail you of old, saying: "My friend had a vineyard on a fertile hillside";¹⁰³ and (not to cite the whole) "I looked," he says, "for the crop of grapes";¹⁰⁴ I thirsted for it to give wine; "but it brought forth thorns";¹⁰⁵ for you see the crown with which I am wreathed. What shall I now decree? "I will command the clouds not to send rain upon it."¹⁰⁶ For the clouds, that is to say, the prophets, were taken away from them, and thereafter the prophets were in the Church; as Paul says: "Of the prophets, let two or three speak at a meeting, and let the rest act as judges."¹⁰⁷ Again, God gave in the Church "some men as apostles, and some as prophets."¹⁰⁸ Agabus, who bound his own hands and feet, was a prophet.

⁹⁸ John 19.28.

⁹⁹ Deut. 32.33 (Sept.).

¹⁰⁰ Ps. 68.22.

¹⁰¹ Mark 15.23.

¹⁰² Deut. 32.6.

¹⁰³ Isa. 5.1.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 4 (Sept.).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 6.

¹⁰⁷ 1 Cor. 14.29.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Eph. 4.11. For Agabus cf. Acts, 21.10-11.

(30) Of the robbers crucified with Him, it was said: "And he was reckoned among the wicked."¹⁰⁹ Up to this time both were wicked, but one of them was wicked no longer. For one was wicked to the end, yielding not to salvation, and, though his hands were fastened, he struck blasphemously with his tongue. The Jews passing by wagged their heads, mocking the Crucified, and fulfilling the Scripture: "When they see me, they shake their heads."¹¹⁰

One robber joined in the reviling, but the other rebuked him; for the second robber it was the end of life and the beginning of restoration, the surrender of his soul, and the anticipation of salvation. After rebuking his fellow robber, he says: "'Lord, remember me';¹¹¹ to You I direct my speech; never mind him, for the eyes of his understanding are blinded; but remember me. I do not say: 'Remember my deeds,' for I am afraid of these. Every man is well disposed to his fellow traveler; I am traveling with You towards death; remember me, your fellow wayfarer. I do not say: 'Remember me now,' but 'When thou comest into thy kingdom.'"¹¹²

(31) What power, O robber, enlightened you? Who taught you to worship that despised man crucified along with you? O Eternal Light, which illumines those lying in darkness! Therefore he justly heard the words: "Be of good cheer,"—not that your deeds should cause you to be of good cheer, but because the King is here, dispensing favors. The request was for something distant in time, but the grace was very speedy. "'Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise,'"¹¹³ because this day you have heard My voice, and have not hardened your heart. Swiftly I passed sentence against Adam; swiftly I pardon you. To Adam it was said:

¹⁰⁹ Mark 15.28; Isa. 53.12.

¹¹⁰ Ps. 108.25.

¹¹¹ Luke 23.42.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 43; in what follows cf. Ps. 94.8.

'For the day you eat of it, you must die';¹¹⁴ today you have been faithful; today will bring you salvation. The tree brought ruin to Adam; it shall bring you into paradise. Fear not the serpent; he shall not cast you out, for he has fallen from heaven. I say not to you, 'This day thou shalt depart,' but 'This day thou shalt be with me.'"¹¹⁵ Take heart; you shall not be cast out. Fear not the flaming sword; it stands in awe of its Lord. O mighty and ineffable grace! The faithful Abraham has not yet entered, but the robber enters! Moses and the prophets have not entered, but the lawless robber enters. Even before you Paul marvelled at this, saying: "Where the offense has abounded, grace has abounded yet more."¹¹⁶ They who had borne the heat of the day had not yet entered; and he who came at the eleventh hour entered. Let no one murmur against the Master of the house, for he says: " 'Friend, I do you no injustice. Have I not a right to do what I choose'¹¹⁷ with my own? The robber has the will to do just deeds, but death prevents him; I wait not for the work only, but faith too I have accepted. I have come who feed my sheep 'among the lilies'; I have come to feed them in the gardens. I have found a sheep that was lost; I take it upon my shoulders. For he believes, since he has asked: 'I have gone astray like a lost sheep';¹¹⁸ 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.' "¹¹⁹

(32) In the Canticles I sang of this garden of old to my spouse, and I said this to her: "I am come to my garden, my sister, my bride."¹²⁰ ("Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden.")¹²¹ And what do You take from

114 Gen. 2.17.

115 Luke 23.43.

116 Rom. 5.20. It is difficult to understand just how the good thief anticipated the patriarchs and others awaiting the redemption, in entering into paradise.

117 Matt. 20.13, 15.

118 Ps. 118.176.

119 Luke 23.42.

120 Cant. 5.1.

121 John 19.41.

there? "I have gathered my myrrh";¹²² for He drank wine mingled with myrrh, and vinegar; and having taken these, He said: "It is consummated."¹²³ The mystery has been accomplished; Scripture has been fulfilled; sins are forgiven. For "when Christ appeared as high priest of the good things to come, he entered once for all through the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made by hands (that is, not of this creation), nor again by virtue of blood of goats and calves, but by virtue of his own blood; into the Holies, having obtained eternal redemption. For if the blood of goats and bulls, and the sprinkled ashes of a heifer sanctify the unclean unto the cleansing of the flesh, how much more will the blood of Christ?"¹²⁴ Again: "Since, then, brethren, we have confidence to enter the Holies in virtue of the blood of Christ, a new and living way which he inaugurated for us through the veil (this is, his flesh)."¹²⁵ Because His flesh, His veil, was dishonored, the figurative veil of the temple was rent asunder, as it is written: "And behold the curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom,"¹²⁶ for not a particle of it was left. Since the Master said: "Behold, your house is left to you desolate,"¹²⁷ the house itself was shattered.

(33) The Savior endured all this, "making peace through the blood of the cross, for all things whether in the heavens or on the earth."¹²⁸ For we were enemies of God through sin, and God had decreed the death of the sinner. One of two things, therefore, was necessary, either that God, in His truth, should destroy all men, or that in His loving-kindness, He should remit the sentence. But see the wisdom of God; He preserved the truth of His sentence and the exercise of His loving-kindness. Christ took our sins "in his body upon

122 Cant. 5.1.

123 John 19.30.

124 Heb. 9.10-14.

125 Heb. 10.19, 20.

126 Matt. 27.51.

127 Matt. 23.38.

128 Col. 1.20.

the tree; that we, having died to sin," by His death "might live to justice."¹²⁹ He who died for us was of no small worth; He was no material sheep; He was no mere man; He was more than an angel, He was God made man. The iniquity of sinners was not as great as the justice of Him who died for them; the sins we committed were not as great as the justice He wrought, who laid down His life for us; He laid it down when He willed, and took it up again when He willed. He did not lay down His life perforce, or yield up His spirit against His will, as you may learn from His words to His Father: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."¹³⁰ I commend it, to take it up again. "And having said this, he expired,"¹³¹ not for long, since He quickly rose again from the dead.

(34) The sun was darkened because of the Sun of Justice. The rocks were rent, because of "the spiritual rock."¹³² Tombs were opened, and the dead arose, because of Him who was "free among the dead."¹³³ He "sent forth his prisoners out of the pit, wherein there is no water."¹³⁴ Do not be ashamed, then, of the Crucified, but say with confidence: "He beareth our sins and carrieth our sorrows, and by his bruises we are healed."¹³⁵ Let us not be ungrateful to our Benefactor. Again: "For the wickedness of my people was he led to death; and I shall give the ungodly for his burial, and the rich for his death."¹³⁶ And Paul says clearly: "that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures."¹³⁷

(35) But we seek to know expressly where He was buried.

¹²⁹ 1 Peter 2.24.

¹³⁰ Luke 23.46.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² 1 Cor. 10.4.

¹³³ Ps. 87.6 (Douay).

¹³⁴ Cf. Zach. 9.11.

¹³⁵ Cf. Isa. 53.4, 5.

¹³⁶ Cf. *ibid.* 8, 9.

¹³⁷ 1 Cor. 15.3, 4.

Was His tomb made with hands? Does it rise above the ground, like the tombs of kings? Was the sepulchre made of stones joined together? And what is laid upon it? Tell us exactly, O prophets, about his tomb also, where it lies, and where we shall look for it. But they answer: "Look upon the solid rock which you have hewn";¹³⁸ look and see. You have in the Gospels: "In a rock-hewn tomb."¹³⁹ What next? What kind of door has the sepulchre? Again the prophet says: "They have ended my life in the pit, and they have laid a stone over me."¹⁴⁰ I, who am "the chief corner stone, chosen, precious,"¹⁴¹ lie for a while within a stone, I, who am "a stone of stumbling"¹⁴² to the Jews, but of salvation to them that believe. The Tree of Life, then, was planted in the earth, to bring blessing for the earth, which had been cursed, and to bring release for the dead.

(36) Let us not be ashamed to confess the Crucified. Let the Cross, as our seal, be boldly made with our fingers upon our brow, and on all occasions; over the bread we eat, over the cups we drink; in our comings and in our goings; before sleep; on lying down and rising up; when we are on the way and when we are still. It is a powerful safeguard; it is without price, for the sake of the poor; without toil, because of the sick; for it is a grace from God, a badge of the faithful, and a terror to devils; for "he displayed them openly, leading them away in triumph by force of it."¹⁴³ For when they see the Cross, they are reminded of the Crucified; they fear Him who has "smashed the heads of the dragons."¹⁴⁴ Despise not the seal as a free gift, but rather for this reason honor your Benefactor all the more.

(37) If ever you fall into disputation, and arguments fail

¹³⁸ Isa. 51.1 (Sept.).

¹³⁹ Luke 22.53.

¹⁴⁰ Lam. 3.53 (Sept.).

¹⁴¹ 1 Peter 2.6; Isa. 28.16.

¹⁴² 1 Peter 2.8.

¹⁴³ Col. 2.15.

¹⁴⁴ Ps. 73.13.

you, let your faith still remain unshaken. Rather become well informed and silence the Jews from the prophets and the Greeks from their own fables. The Greeks worship men struck by thunderbolts, but the bolt from heaven does not come at random. If they are not ashamed to worship men struck by lightning and abhorred by God, will you be ashamed to worship the beloved Son of God, who was crucified for you? I am ashamed to speak of their so-called gods, and I omit mention of them to save time, but let them that know speak out. Let the mouths of all heretics be stopped. If any man should say that the Cross is only an illusion, turn away from him. Abhor those who say that Christ was crucified in fancy only. For if He was crucified in fancy only, salvation is a fancy also, since our salvation comes from the Cross. If the Cross is a fancy, the Resurrection is a fancy also; and "if Christ has not risen we are still in our sins."¹⁴⁵ If the Cross is a fancy, the Ascension also is a fancy; and if the Ascension is a fancy, then the second coming is likewise an illusion, and everything, finally, is unsubstantial.

(38) First, therefore, take as an indestructible foundation the Cross, and build upon it the rest of your faith. Do not deny the Crucified, for if you deny Him you have many to confute you. First Judas the traitor will confute you; for he who betrayed Him knew that He was condemned to death by the chief priests and the ancients. The thirty pieces of silver bear witness; Gethsemane bears witness, where the betrayal took place; not yet do I speak of the Mount of Olives, where they who were with Him that night were praying. The moon in the night bears witness; the day bears witness, and the failing sun, for it endured not to look upon the crime of the conspirators. The fire, where Peter stood and warmed himself, confounds you; if you deny the Cross, the eternal fire awaits you; I speak of harsh consequences that you may not experience them. Remember the swords

¹⁴⁵ Cf. 1 Cor. 15.17.

that came against Him in Gethsemane, that you may not feel the eternal sword. The house of Caiphas will convince you, which by its present desolation manifests the power of Him who once was judged in it.¹⁴⁶ Caiphas himself will rise up against you in the day of judgment; the servant too who gave Jesus the blow will rise up, and those who bound Him, and those who led Him away. Herod and Pilate will rise up against you, all but saying: "Why do you deny Him who was maligned before us by the Jews, and who we knew well had done no wrong? For I, Pilate, then washed my hands." The false witnesses will rise up against you, and the soldiers who put the purple cloak upon Him, set the crown of thorns on His head, crucified Him on Golgotha, and cast lots for His tunic. Simon of Cyrene, who carried the Cross after Jesus, will confound you.

(39) Of the heavenly bodies the sun in eclipse will convict you; of the products of the earth the wine mingled with myrrh; of grass plants the reed; of herbs, the hyssop, of the products of the sea, the sponge; of trees, the wood of the Cross. Add the soldiers too, as I have said, who nailed Him to the Cross and cast lots for His vesture; the soldier who opened His side with a spear; the women who were then present; the veil of the temple then rent asunder; the pretorium of Pilate, now desolate by the power of Him who was then crucified; this holy Golgotha rising on high and visible to this day, displaying even now how the rocks, because of Christ, were then rent; the sepulchre nearby, where He was laid; and the stone placed upon the door, which to this day lies next to the sepulchre; the angels who were then present; the women who worshipped Him after His resurrection; Peter and John, who ran to the sepulchre; and Thomas, who put his hand into His side, and his fingers

¹⁴⁶ Apparently the site of the house of Caiphas and that of the pretorium of Pilate (mentioned in chapter 39) were well known, though these buildings had been utterly destroyed. The pretorium is one of the best authenticated sites today.

into the print of the nails. For it was for our sake that he touched them so carefully; for what you, who were not present, would have sought, he who was present did seek by God's dispensation.

(40) You have twelve Apostles witnesses of the Cross, and the whole earth, and the world of men who believe in Him who was crucified. Let your very presence here now persuade you of the power of the Crucified. For who brought you to this assembly? What soldiers? With what bonds were you constrained? What sentence drove you here now? No, it was the saving emblem of Jesus, the Cross, that has brought you all together. This reduced the Persians to bondage, and civilized the Scythians; this gave to the Egyptians, in place of cats and dogs and their manifold errors, the knowledge of God. To this day the Cross heals diseases, puts devils to flight, and overcomes the deceptions of philters and incantations.

(41) The Cross will appear again with Jesus from heaven;¹⁴⁷ for His emblem will precede the King; and the Jews, seeing Him whom they pierced, and recognizing by the Cross Him whom they dishonored, will repent and mourn (and they shall mourn tribe by tribe, for they shall repent then, when there shall be no time for repentance); and we shall glory, taking pride in the Cross, worshipping the Lord who was sent, and was crucified for us, worshipping also God the Father who sent Him, with the Holy Spirit; to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

¹⁴⁷ In *Catechesis* 15.22 Cyril speaks of a luminous cross preceding the second coming of Christ, and the development of thought is similar in both sections.

CATECHESIS XIV

On the Resurrection of Christ, His Ascension into Heaven and His Sitting at the Right Hand of the Father

*"Now I recall to your minds, brethren, the gospel that I preached to you, . . . that he rose the third day, according to the Scriptures."*¹

(1) "Rejoice, O Jerusalem, and hold festival together, all you who love" Jesus, for He is risen; "rejoice all you who mourned before,"² on hearing of the rash, wicked deeds of the Jews. For He whom they treated here with insult is risen again; and as the discourse on the Cross brought sorrow, so let the tidings of the Resurrection bring joy to all present. Let mourning be turned into gladness and lamentation into joy; and let our mouth be filled with joy and gladness because of Him who after His Resurrection cried: "Rejoice."³ I realize the sorrow of Christ's friends during the past days; our discourse ended with the death and burial without telling the glad news of the Resurrection, and so your mind was in suspense to hear what it desired to hear. Therefore the Dead is risen, He who was "free among the dead,"⁴ and deliverer of the dead. He patiently endured the shame of the crown of thorns; He has risen to crown Himself with the diadem of victory over death.

1 1 Cor. 15.1-4.

2 Cf. Isa. 66.10.

3 Matt. 28.9. The original Greek word is a greeting, and it is generally translated 'Hail,' or 'All hail,' but Cyril's context seems to require the translation 'Rejoice.'

4 Ps. 87.6 (Douay).

(2) Just as we advanced the testimonies concerning His Cross, so let us now verify the proofs of His Resurrection; the Apostle, whose text is before us, says: "He was buried, and He rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures."⁵ An Apostle has sent us back to the testimony of the Scriptures; from the same source we will do well to discover the hope of our salvation. First we must learn if the Sacred Scriptures tell us the exact time of the Resurrection, that is, whether it comes in summer, or in autumn, or after winter; from what sort of place the Savior rose; what the place of the Resurrection is called in the admirable prophets; whether the women who sought and did not find Him afterwards rejoiced in finding Him; thus when the Gospels are read, their holy narratives will not be considered fables or fantasies.

(3) In my last discourse you heard an account of our Savior's burial; in the words of Isaia, "His burial shall be in peace"⁶ (for in His burial He made peace between heaven and earth, bringing sinners to God); and "the just man is taken away before the face of evil,"⁷ and "His burial shall be in peace," and "I will give the ungodly for his burial."⁸ There is also the prophecy of Jacob in the Scriptures: "He lay down and couched as a lion, and as a lion's whelp; who will disturb him?"⁹ Similarly in Numbers: "Lying down he has slept as a lion, and as a lion's whelp."¹⁰ You have often heard also the words of the Psalm: "To the dust of death you have brought me down."¹¹ We indicated the place, when we quoted the words: "Look unto the rock which you have hewn."¹² It

⁵ 1 Cor. 15.4.

⁶ Isa. 57.2 (Sept.). The citation from Isaia does not occur in *Cat.* 13. There may have been a slip of memory, or the reference may be to the homily of the preceding day (cf. below, Ch. 24).

⁷ *Ibid.* 1 (Sept.).

⁸ Isa. 53.9 (Sept.).

⁹ Gen. 49.9.

¹⁰ Num. 24.9.

¹¹ Ps. 21.16.

¹² Isa. 51.1 (Sept.).

remains for us to add the testimonies concerning the Resurrection itself.

(4) First of all He says in the eleventh Psalm: "Because they rob the afflicted and the needy sigh, now will I arise, says the Lord."¹³ For some this testimony remains doubtful, since He rises often in anger to exact vengeance of His enemies. Therefore consider the fifteenth Psalm, which says plainly: "Keep me, O God, for in you I take refuge,"¹⁴ and "Blood libations to them I will not pour out, nor will I take their names upon my lips,"¹⁵ since they renounced Me, and acknowledged Caesar as their King; and in the words which follow: "I set the Lord ever before me; with him at my right hand I shall not be disturbed";¹⁶ and: "Even in the night my heart exhorts me";¹⁷ afterwards He says clearly: "Because you will not abandon my soul to the nether world, nor will you suffer your faithful one to undergo corruption."¹⁸ He did not say: "nor will you suffer your faithful one to undergo death"; otherwise, He would not have died; but "corruption," He says, "I see not, and in death I shall not abide." "You will show me the path to life."¹⁹ You see life after death is clearly proclaimed. Take the twenty-ninth Psalm: "I will extol you, O Lord, for you drew me clear and did not let my enemies rejoice over me."²⁰ What came to pass? Were you freed from your enemies, or released when about to be smitten? He Himself says clearly: "O Lord, you brought me up from the nether world."²¹ In the text above He says prophetically, "You will not abandon," but here He speaks of what was to be as though it had already happened: "You brought me up," "You have preserved me from among those

¹³ Ps. 11.6.

¹⁴ Ps. 15.1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 11.

²⁰ Ps. 29.2.

²¹ *Ibid.* 4.

going down into the pit.”²² When shall this take place? “At nightfall, weeping enters in, and with the dawn, rejoicing”;²³ for in the evening there was the grief of the disciples, and in the morning the joy of the Resurrection.

(5) You wish to know the place? He says in the Canticles: “I came down to the nut garden”;²⁴ for it was a garden where He was crucified. Though now richly adorned with kingly gifts, it was formerly a garden, and tokens and traces of this still remain. “An enclosed garden, a fountain sealed,”²⁵ that is, by the Jews, who said: “We have remembered how that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, ‘After three days I will rise again.’ Give orders, therefore, that the sepulchre be guarded”; and then: “So they went and made the sepulchre secure, sealing the stone, and setting the guard.”²⁶ Clearly directed against the Jews are the words: “And in rest will you judge them.”²⁷ Now who is the “fountain sealed,” or who is signified by the “wellspring of living water”?²⁸ It is the Savior Himself, of whom it is written: “For with you is the fountain of life.”²⁹

(6) What does Sophonia say to the disciples in the person of Christ? “Prepare yourself, rise up at dawn; all their gleanings are destroyed”;³⁰ He means the gleanings of the Jews, for whom remains neither a cluster nor a gleanings of salvation; for their vine is cut down. See how he says to the disciples, “Prepare yourself, rise up at dawn”; at dawn expect the Resurrection. Afterwards, in the same context of Scripture he says: “Wherefore expect me, says the Lord, in the day of my resurrection at the martyr.”³¹

²² *Ibid.* 4.

²³ *Ibid.* 6.

²⁴ Cant. 6.11.

²⁵ Cant. 4.12.

²⁶ Matt. 27.63-66.

²⁷ Job 7.18 (Sept.).

²⁸ Cant. 4.15.

²⁹ Ps. 35.10.

³⁰ Soph. 3.7 (Sept.).

³¹ *Ibid.* 8 (Sept.). Churches built over the tombs of the martyrs were

You see that the prophet foresaw that the place of the Resurrection was to be called "the martyr." Now for what reason is this place of Golgotha and of the Resurrection called, not a church like the rest of the churches, but a martyr? It was perhaps because of the prophet who said: "in the day of my resurrection at the martyr."

(7) Who is this and what is the sign of his resurrection? It is clearly told, in the very next verse of the prophet: "For then I will change a tongue for peoples"—since after the Resurrection, with the sending of the Holy Spirit, the gift of tongues was granted—"that they may serve the Lord with one accord."³² What other sign is added in the same prophet that they would "serve the Lord with one accord"? "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia they shall bring me offerings."³³ Recall the story in the Acts of the Ethiopian eunuch, who came "from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia."³⁴ Therefore the Scriptures tell the time, the peculiar features of the place, and the signs following the Resurrection; henceforth have a firm belief in the Resurrection and let no one cause you to waver in confessing Christ risen from the dead.

(8) Accept an additional testimony from the eighty-seventh Psalm, where Christ speaks in the prophets—for He who then spoke afterwards came among us—: "O Lord, the God of my salvation: I have cried in the day, and in the night before thee";³⁵ and subsequently: "I am become as a man without help, free among the dead."³⁶ He did not say, "I am become a man without help," but "as a man without help"; for He was crucified, not because of helplessness, but because He willed it; His death was not a result of invol-

called martyrries. 'Martyr' would be an appropriate title for the church built over the tomb of the Chief of martyrs. There is some evidence that it was called the Great Martyr or the Martyr of the Savior.

³² *Ibid.* 9 (Sept.).

³³ *Ibid.* 10 (Sept.).

³⁴ Acts 8.27.

³⁵ Ps. 87.2 (Douay).

³⁶ *Ibid.* 5, 6 (Douay).

untary weakness. "I am numbered with those who go down into the pit."³⁷ What is the sign? "You have taken my friends away from me"³⁸ (for the disciples fled away). "Will you work wonders for the dead"?³⁹ Then: "But I, O Lord, cry out to you; with my morning prayer I wait upon you."⁴⁰ See how these verses manifest the actual circumstances of the Passion and the Resurrection.

(9) From what place did the Savior rise? He says in the Canticle of Canticles: "Arise, come, my neighbor";⁴¹ and in a later verse: "in a cleft of the rock."⁴² For He calls a cleft of the rock the hollow place originally in front of the sepulchre; this had been hewn of the rock itself, a practice customary in front of sepulchres. It is not visible now, it is true, because the outer hollowed-out rock was hewn away to make room for the present adornment. Before royal magnificence embellished the monument, there was a hollow place before the tomb. Now where is the rock with its hollow? Is it situated in the middle of the city or by the walls and the outskirts? Is it inside the ancient walls or inside the outer walls afterwards constructed? It says in the Canticles: "In a cleft of the rock, near the outer walls."⁴³

(10) At what season does the Savior rise? Is it in summer or at another time? In the same Canticles, just before the words quoted above, He says: "The winter is past, the rains are over and gone. The flowers appear on the earth, the time of pruning has come."⁴⁴ Is not the land now full of flowers, and are not the vines being pruned? You see how He said also that the winter was past. For in this month Xanthicus spring is already come. This is the time, the first month among

³⁷ *Ibid.* 5.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 14.

⁴¹ Cant. 2.10 (Sept.).

⁴² *Ibid.* 14. It would seem that the complete tomb consisted of two chambers both hollowed out of the natural rock.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 14 (Sept.).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 11, 12.

the Hebrews, in which is celebrated the feast of the Pasch, formerly the figurative Pasch, but now the true. This is the season of the creation of the world; for God then said: "Let the earth bring forth vegetation, yielding seed according to its kind and according to its likeness."⁴⁵ Now, as you see, every herb is in seed. At that time God made the sun and the moon and gave them courses of equal day and night; just a few days ago we had the equinox. Then God said: "Let us make man in our image and likeness";⁴⁶ he received the image, but he obscured the likeness by his disobedience. Man's loss of grace and his restoration took place in the same season. At the season created man, by his disobedience, was cast out of Paradise, then, he who believed, by his obedience, was brought in. Salvation came about in the same season as the Fall, when "the flowers appeared," "and the time of pruning was come."⁴⁷

(11) The place of His burial was a garden, and a vine was planted there; He has said: "I am the vine."⁴⁸ He was planted in the earth, to root out the curse that came from Adam. The earth was doomed to thorns and thistles; from the earth sprang the true Vine, to fulfill the words: "Truth shall spring out of the earth, and justice shall look down from heaven."⁴⁹ What is He going to say who was buried in the garden? "I gather my myrrh, and my spices";⁵⁰ and again: "Myrrh and aloes with all the finest spices."⁵¹ These were the tokens of His burial, and in the Gospels it is said: "The women came to the tomb, taking the spices they had prepared";⁵² "and there also came Nicodemus, bringing a mixture of myrrh

⁴⁵ Gen. 1.11 (Sept.).

⁴⁶ Gen. 1.26. Image and likeness generally connote the same thing. Cyril makes a distinction between them as though image meant nature, and likeness virtue, or something similar.

⁴⁷ Cf. Cant. 2.12.

⁴⁸ John 15.5.

⁴⁹ Ps. 84.12.

⁵⁰ Cant. 5.1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 4.14.

⁵² Luke 24.1.

and aloes.”⁵³ And next, it is written: “I have eaten my bread with my honey”:⁵⁴ the bitter before the Passion, and the sweet after the Resurrection. After He was risen He entered through the closed doors; the Apostles did not believe, for “they thought they saw a spirit.”⁵⁵ But He said: “Feel me, and see”;⁵⁶ put your fingers into the print of the nails, as Thomas demanded. “But as they still disbelieved and marvelled for joy, He said: ‘Have you anything here to eat?’ And they offered Him a piece of broiled fish and honeycomb.”⁵⁷ Do you see the fulfillment of the text: “I have eaten my bread with my honey.”?

(12) Before He entered through the closed doors He was sought by those noble and courageous women; He was sought, the Bridegroom and Suitor of souls. These blessed women came to the sepulchre and sought Him who was risen; and tears were still flowing from their eyes, though it was more fitting for them to dance with joy for Him who had risen. Mary came seeking Him, according to the Gospel, but she did not find Him; afterwards she heard from the angels and finally saw Christ. Does Scripture testify to this? It says in the Canticle of Canticles: “On my bed I sought him whom my heart loves.” At what time? “On my bed *at night* I sought him whom my heart loves.”⁵⁸ Mary came, it says, “while it was still dark.”⁵⁹ “On my bed I sought him—sought him but I did not find him.”⁶⁰ In the Gospel Mary says: “They have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid him.”⁶¹ The angels present dispelled her ignorance, for they said: “Why do you seek the living one among the dead?”⁶²

⁵³ John 19.39.

⁵⁴ Cant. 5.1 (Sept.).

⁵⁵ Luke 24.37.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 39.

⁵⁷ Luke 24.41, 42.

⁵⁸ Cant. 3.1.

⁵⁹ John 20.1.

⁶⁰ Cant. 3.1.

⁶¹ John 20.13.

⁶² Luke 24.5.

Not only did He rise but the dead accompanied Him in His resurrection. Mary did not know it; in her person the Cantic of Canticles says to the angels: "Have you seen him whom my heart loves? I had hardly left them (that is, the two angels), when I found him whom my heart loves. I took hold of him and would not let him go."⁶³

(13) After the vision of the angels Jesus came, announcing Himself, and the Gospel says: "And behold Jesus met them, saying, 'Hail!' And they came up and embraced his feet."⁶⁴ They took hold of Him and the text was fulfilled: "I will hold him, and will not let him go."⁶⁵ Though weak in body the women were courageous in spirit. "Many waters cannot quench charity, neither can floods drown it."⁶⁶ He whom they sought was dead, but their hope of the Resurrection was not quenched. The angel said to them again: "Do not be afraid";⁶⁷ I say, not to the soldiers, "Do not be afraid," but to you; let them fear, and being taught by experience, let them bear witness and say: "Truly he was the Son of God";⁶⁸ but you must not be afraid, for "perfect love casts out fear";⁶⁹ going forth, "tell his disciples that he has risen."⁷⁰ They departed with joy, yet full of fear. Is this in Scripture? Yes, the second Psalm, prophetic of the Passion of Christ, says: "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice before him with trembling";⁷¹ rejoice, to be sure, for the Lord who has risen, but with trembling, because of the earthquake, and the angel who appeared like lightning.

(14) The chief priests and the Pharisees, through the agency of Pilate, sealed the tomb; but the women saw Him who was risen. Now Isaia, who knew the impotency of the chief priests and the women's firmness of faith, says: "You women, who

⁶³ Cant. 3.3, 4.

⁶⁴ Matt. 28.9.

⁶⁵ Cf. Cant. 3.4.

⁶⁶ Cant. 8.7.

⁶⁷ Matt. 28.5.

⁶⁸ Matt. 27.54.

⁶⁹ 1 John 4.18.

⁷⁰ Matt. 28.7.

⁷¹ Ps. 2.11.

come from the vision, approach: for the people has no understanding.”⁷² The chief priests lack understanding, but the women behold with their own eyes. When the soldiers came into the city and told the chief priests what had happened, they said to the soldiers: “Say, his disciples came by night and stole him while we were sleeping.”⁷³ Well did Isaia foretell this also, in their persons: “But tell us, and relate another deceit.”⁷⁴ Christ has risen and come back from the dead, and by a bribe they persuade the soldiers; but they do not persuade the kings of our day. The soldiers then betrayed the truth for silver; the emperors of our times have built this holy Church of the Resurrection of God our Savior, inlaid with silver and wrought with gold, where we are assembled, and they have beautified it with treasures of silver and gold and precious stones. “And if the procurator hears of this, we will persuade him.”⁷⁵ Though you persuade the soldiers, you will not persuade the world. Why were the guards who watched Jesus not condemned, as the guards of Peter, when he escaped from prison? Peter’s guards had no defense in their ignorance, and were sentenced by Herod; the guards of Jesus, though they knew the truth and concealed it for money, were protected by the chief priests. A few of the Jews of that time were persuaded, but the world hearkened to the truth. Those who concealed the truth were buried in oblivion, but those who received it were made manifest by the power of the Savior, who rose from the dead and raised the dead with Himself. In the person of the risen dead the prophet Osee says plainly: “He will revive us after two days; on the third day he will raise us up, to live in his presence.”⁷⁶

(15) The Sacred Scriptures do not convince the unheeding

⁷² Isa. 27.11 (Sept.).

⁷³ Matt. 28.13.

⁷⁴ Isa. 30.10 (Sept.).

⁷⁵ Matt. 28.14. The phrase “the emperors of our times” at the opening of the sentence certainly refers to Constantine, but the plural may include his sons or indirectly, his mother, Helena.

⁷⁶ Osee 6.2 (Sept.).

Jews, who disregard all that is written, and impugn the Resurrection of Jesus; it is best to meet them thus: Why do you assert that Eliseus and Elia raised the dead, but deny the Resurrection of our Savior? Is it because we have no living witnesses of what we assert? Well, produce witnesses of those earlier events. But that was written about? So is this. Why do you accept one and reject the other? Hebrews wrote the earlier history; the Apostles also were all Hebrews. Why, therefore, do you disbelieve Jews? Matthew, who wrote the Gospel, wrote it in the Hebrew tongue; and Paul the preacher was a Hebrew of the Hebrews; and the twelve Apostles were of Hebrew stock; besides, fifteen Bishops of Jerusalem in succession were appointed from the Hebrews. Why do you accept your own accounts but reject ours, though these too were written by Hebrews among you?

(16) But it is impossible, someone will say, for the dead to rise. Eliseus twice raised the dead, both when he was alive, and after his death. We believe that when a dead man had been cast upon the corpse of Eliseus he rose again on contact; but Christ has not risen from the dead? When the dead man touched Eliseus he rose again, though Eliseus who raised him remained dead as before; but in this case the Dead of whom we treat rose, and many dead who did not even touch Him rose. For "many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep arose; and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection, they came into the holy city" (manifestly the city we are in), "and appeared to many."⁷⁷ Eliseus indeed raised a dead man, but he did not conquer the world; Elia raised the dead, but demons are not driven out in the name of Elia. We do not speak ill of these prophets, but we praise their Master more. We do not belittle their marvels to magnify our own, for their miracles are ours also; but from their deeds we win credit for our own.

⁷⁷ Matt. 27.52, 53. Cyril's interpretation is the common one, but some of the Fathers think that the saints who rose were assumed into the celestial Jerusalem, heaven.

(17) They further object: A dead man recently deceased was raised by the living; but show us that it is possible for a man dead and buried for three days to rise again. The testimony we seek is supplied by the Lord Jesus Himself in the Gospels, when He says: "For even as Jona was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights, so will the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."⁷⁸ Now when we study the story of Jona the force of the resemblance becomes striking. Jesus was sent to preach repentance; so was Jona. Though Jona fled, not knowing what was to come, Jesus came willingly, to grant repentance for salvation. Jona slumbered in the ship and was fast asleep amid the stormy sea; while Jesus by God's will was sleeping, the sea was stirred up, for the purpose of manifesting thereafter the power of Him who slept. They said to Jona: "What are you doing asleep? Rise up, call upon your God! that God may save us";⁷⁹ but the Apostles say: "Lord, save us!"⁸⁰ In the first instance they said: Call upon your God, and in the second, Save us. In the first Jona said to them: "Pick me up and throw me into the sea, that it may quiet down for you";⁸¹ in the other Christ Himself "rebuked the wind and the sea, and there came a great calm."⁸² Jona was cast into the belly of a great fish, but Christ of His own will descended to the abode of the invisible fish of death. He went down of His own will to make death disgorge those it had swallowed up, according to the Scripture: "I shall deliver them from the power of the nether world, and I shall redeem them from death."⁸³

(18) Here let us pose the question: Is it more difficult for a man dead and buried to rise again from the earth, or for a man in the belly of a fish, where he has come into contact

⁷⁸ Matt. 12.40.

⁷⁹ Jona 1.6 (Sept.).

⁸⁰ Matt. 8.25.

⁸¹ Jona 1.12.

⁸² Matt. 8.26.

⁸³ Cf. Osee 13.14.

with the extreme heat of a living creature, to suffer no corruption? Everyone knows that the heat of the belly is so intense that even bones that have been swallowed are decomposed. How was it possible for Jona to be three days and three nights in the belly of the fish without suffering corruption? How could Jona live for three days without breathing our air, since according to man's nature we cannot live without breathing it? The Jews answer: "The power of God went down with Jona when he was tossed about in the depths." But if the Lord granted His servant life by sending His power with him, can he not grant it to Himself? If one is credible, the other is credible; if one is incredible, the other also is incredible; to me both are equally credible. I believe also that Christ rose from the dead. I have many testimonies of this, from the Sacred Scriptures, and from the power of the risen Christ working to this day. He descended alone into the nether world, but ascended therefrom with a numerous company; for He went down to death, "and many of the bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep arose"⁸⁴ by His power.

(19) Death was panic-stricken on seeing a new visitant descending into the nether world, One not subject to the bonds of the place. Why, O you porters of hell, were you terrified on seeing Him? What unaccustomed fear seized upon you? Death fled away and his flight convicted him of cowardice. The holy prophets ran forward, and Moses the Lawgiver, and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; David also and Samuel; Isaia and John the Baptist, who bore witness to Him when he said: "Art thou he who is to come, or shall we look for another?"⁸⁵ All the Just, whom death had swallowed up, were ransomed; for it was fitting that the King who had been heralded should be the Redeemer of His noble heralds. Then each of the Just said: "'O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?"⁸⁶ For the Conqueror has ransomed us."

⁸⁴ Matt. 27.52.

⁸⁵ Matt. 11.3.

⁸⁶ 1 Cor. 15.55.

(20) Jona fulfilled a type of our Savior when he prayed from the belly of the fish and said: "I cried for help from the midst of the nether world."⁸⁷ He was in fact in the fish, yet he says that he is in the nether world. In a later verse he manifestly prophesies in the person of Christ: "My head went down into the chasms of the mountains."⁸⁸ Yet he was still in the belly of the fish. What mountains encompass you? But I know, he says, that I am a type of Him who is to be laid in the sepulchre hewn out of the rock. While he was in the sea Jona says: "I went down into the earth";⁸⁹ for he typified Christ, who went down into the heart of the earth. Foreseeing also the deceit of the Jews, who persuaded the soldiers to lie by saying to them, "Say," that they "stole him away,"⁹⁰ Jona says: "They that observe lying vanities have forsaken their own mercy."⁹¹ For He who showed them mercy came, was crucified and rose again, when He had shed His precious blood for the Jews and the Gentiles. But they say: "Say," that they "stole him away," "observing lying vanities." Concerning His Resurrection Isaia says: "He who brought from the earth the great shepherd of the sheep."⁹² He has added the word 'great,' lest He be esteemed merely equal in honor with the shepherds before Him.

(21) Therefore, since we have the prophecies, let our faith be firm. Let them fall, who fall from disbelief, for they will it so; but you have taken your stand upon the rock of faith in the Resurrection. Even to this day the Manichaeans say that the Resurrection of the Savior was imaginary and not real, paying no heed to Paul, who writes: "Who was born according to the flesh of the offspring of David"; and afterwards: "by resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our

⁸⁷ Jona 2.3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 2.6, 7 (Sept.).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 2.7 (Sept.).

⁹⁰ Cf. Matt. 12.40.

⁹¹ Cf. Jona 2.9.

⁹² Isa. 63.11 (Sept.).

Lord.”⁹³ Again his words are directed against them when he says: “Do not say in thy heart: Who shall ascend into heaven? or, Who shall descend into the abyss? that is, to bring up Christ from the dead.”⁹⁴ In like manner, by way of confirmation he has written elsewhere: “Remember that Jesus Christ rose from the dead”;⁹⁵ and again: “and if Christ has not risen, vain then is our preaching, vain too is your faith. Yes, and we are found false witnesses as to God, in that we have borne witness against God that he raised Christ whom he did not raise.”⁹⁶ Subsequently he says: “But as it is, Christ has risen from the dead, the firstfruits of those who have fallen asleep.”⁹⁷ “And he appeared to Cephas; and after that to the twelve”⁹⁸ (for if you disbelieve one witness, you have twelve witnesses); “then he was seen by more than five hundred brethren at once”⁹⁹ (if they disbelieve the twelve, let them heed the five hundred); “after that, he was seen by James,”¹⁰⁰ His own brother, and first bishop of this diocese. Since so famous a bishop was privileged to see the risen Christ, as his disciple, do not disbelieve. But you may say that His brother is a biased witness; thereafter “he was seen by me,”¹⁰¹ Paul, His enemy; can testimony be doubted when it is proclaimed by an enemy? “I formerly was a persecutor,”¹⁰² but now preach the glad tidings of the Resurrection.

(22) There are many witnesses of our Savior’s Resurrection: the night, and the light of the full moon (for that night was the sixteenth); the rock of the sepulchre which received Him; the stone also shall set itself against the face of the Jews, for

⁹³ Rom. 1.3, 4.

⁹⁴ Rom. 10.6, 7.

⁹⁵ 2 Tim. 2.8.

⁹⁶ 1 Cor. 15.14, 15.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 20.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 5.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 6.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 7. Here and in *Cat.* 4.28 Cyril seems to single out James from the rest of the Apostles, perhaps because of his episcopal dignity.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 8.

¹⁰² 1 Tim. 1.13.

it saw the Lord; even the stone which was rolled back, lying there to the present day, testifies to the Resurrection. The Angels of God who were present bore witness to the Resurrection of the Only-begotten; Peter and John, and Thomas, and the rest of the Apostles; some of them ran to the sepulchre, and saw the linen and the burial cloths, in which He had been wrapped, lying there after the Resurrection; and others touched His hands and feet and beheld the prints of the nails; and all of them were breathed upon by the Savior, and were deemed worthy of the power of forgiving sins in virtue of the Holy Spirit. Witnesses too were the women, who took hold of His feet, who beheld the mighty earthquake and the shining angel standing by; the linen cloths also, which enveloped Him and which He left behind when He rose; the soldiers and the money they received; the spot itself, still to be seen; and this holy Church, which from his deep love of Christ was built by the Emperor Constantine of happy memory, and embellished as you see.

(23) Another witness to the Resurrection of Jesus is Tabitha, who in His name was raised from the dead. For how can one disbelieve in the risen Christ, when even His name has raised the dead? The sea too is a witness to the Resurrection of Jesus, as you have already heard. The draught of fish also bears witness, and the hot coals laid there, and the fish thereon. Peter is also a witness, who before had denied Him thrice, but afterwards confessed Him thrice, and was charged to feed His spiritual sheep. Yonder stands even to this day Mount Olivet, all but showing even now to the eyes of the faithful Him who ascended, and the heavenly gate of the Ascension. For He descended from heaven to Bethlehem, but from Mount Olivet He ascended to heaven;¹⁰³ He began in Bethlehem His struggles for men, but on Olivet He was crowned for them. You have many witnesses, therefore; you

¹⁰³ According to the Gospel of St. Luke (24.50, 51) the Ascension took place at Bethany, but Cyril is following an accepted tradition that it occurred on the top of Mount Olivet (Acts 1.12).

have this place of the Resurrection itself; you have to the east the place of His Ascension. You have as witnesses the angels also, who bore testimony at His Resurrection, and the cloud on which He ascended, and the disciples who came down from the place of the Ascension.

(24) The sequence of the Creed would naturally lead me on to speak of the Ascension; but God's grace has so disposed it that you heard most fully about it, according to the measure of my weakness, yesterday, on the Lord's day; for the course of the lessons in church, by the ordination of divine grace, comprised the narrative of our Savior's Ascension into heaven. What was then said was spoken mainly for all and for the assembled faithful, but especially for you. The question is whether you paid attention to what was said. For you know that the sequence of the Creed teaches you to believe in Him "who rose on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father." I take it for granted that you remember our exposition; still I shall remind you, in passing, of what was then said. Remember what is clearly written in the Psalms: "God mounts his throne amid shouts of joy";¹⁰⁴ remember that the divine Powers also said to one another: "Lift up your gates, you princes";¹⁰⁵ remember too the Psalm which says: "He has ascended on high, he has led captivity captive";¹⁰⁶ remember the prophet who said: "He that builds his ascension in heaven";¹⁰⁷ recall also the other points mentioned yesterday in connection with the objections of the Jews.

(25) When they deny the possibility of the Resurrection, recall what was said of the carrying away of Habacuc; for if Habacuc was transported by an angel, who lifted him up by the hair of his head, much more could the Lord of both prophets and angels, mounting a cloud from Mount Olivet, ascend into heaven by His own power. You may well recall

¹⁰⁴ Ps. 46.6.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Ps. 23.7.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ps. 67.19; Eph. 4.8.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Amos 9.6.

such wonders, yet reserve the supremacy for the Lord, the Worker of wonders, for while they were borne up, He “upholdeth all things.”¹⁰⁸ Recall that Henoah was translated; but Jesus ascended. Recall yesterday’s account of Elia, how he was taken up in a fiery chariot; but the chariot of Christ is “ten thousandfold thousands of them that rejoice.”¹⁰⁹ Recall that Elia was taken up to the east of the Jordan, but Christ ascended to the east of the brook Cedron; that Elia ascended *as* into heaven, but Jesus, into heaven; that Elia promised that a double portion in the Holy Spirit would be given to his holy disciple; but Christ granted so full a share of the Holy Spirit to His disciples that besides having the Holy Spirit themselves, by the laying on of hands, they communicated the Spirit to those who believed.

(26) When you have wrestled with the Jews and have overcome them by parallel examples, then come to the surpassing glory of the Savior: His predecessors were the servants, but He was the Son of God. You will be reminded of His pre-eminence when you reflect that a servant of Christ was caught up to the third heaven. For if Elia reached the first heaven but Paul the third, the latter surely attained to a more honorable dignity. Be not ashamed of your Apostles; they are not inferior to Moses, or second to the prophets; but they are noble among the noble, and indeed, nobler still. For Elia, it is true, was taken up into heaven; but Peter has the keys to the kingdom of heaven, after hearing the words: “Whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.”¹¹⁰ Elia was taken up to heaven only, but Paul into heaven and paradise (for it was but fitting that the disciples of Jesus should receive more manifold grace) and “heard secret words that man may not repeat.”¹¹¹ But Paul came down again from heaven, not because he was unworthy to abide in the third heaven, but (after enjoying gifts beyond man’s lot and

¹⁰⁸ Heb. 1.3.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Ps. 67.18.

¹¹⁰ Matt. 16.19.

¹¹¹ 2 Cor. 12.4.

descending in honor) to receive the crown of martyrdom, when he had preached Christ and suffered for Him. I pass over the other points I treated yesterday in the Lord's day assembly, for to understanding hearers a mere reminder is sufficient for instruction.

(27) Recall also what I have often said regarding the sitting of the Son at the right hand of the Father, according to the sequence of the Creed: "and He ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father." Let us not too curiously inquire into the precise nature of this sitting, for it surpasses our understanding. Let us not endure those who perversely assert that it was only after His Cross and Resurrection and Ascension into heaven that the Son began to sit at the right hand of the Father. For He did not gain His throne by way of advancement; but from the time He is—and He is eternally begotten—He sits with the Father. The prophet Isaia, having beheld this throne before the coming of the Savior in the flesh, says: "I saw the Lord seated on a high and lofty throne."¹¹² For the Father "no man has at any time seen,"¹¹³ and He who then appeared to the prophet was the Son. The Psalmist also says: "Your throne stands firm from of old; from everlasting you are."¹¹⁴ There are many testimonies on this point, but we will content ourselves with these only, because of the lateness of the hour.

(28) Now I must recall a few of my many remarks concerning the sitting of the Son at the right hand of the Father. The hundred and ninth Psalm says clearly: "The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool."¹¹⁵ Our Savior, confirming this text in the Gospels, says that David did not speak of his own will, but by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit: "How then does David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying: 'The Lord said to my

¹¹² Isa. 6.1.

¹¹³ John 1.18.

¹¹⁴ Ps. 92.2.

¹¹⁵ Ps. 109.1, 2.

Lord, Sit at my right hand.' ”¹¹⁶ In the Acts of the Apostles, on Pentecost day, Peter, standing with the Eleven, and discoursing to the Israelites, cites in express words this testimony from the hundred and ninth Psalm.

(29) I must remind you of a few similar testimonies regarding the sitting of the Son at the right hand of the Father. There is the passage in Matthew: “Nevertheless I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of God.”¹¹⁷ Writing in similar vein the Apostle Peter says: “Through the resurrection of Jesus Christ; who is at the right hand of God, having gone into heaven.”¹¹⁸ The Apostle Paul, writing to the Romans, says: “Christ who died, yes, and rose again, he who is at the right hand of God.”¹¹⁹ Writing to the Ephesians, he speaks thus: “Its measure is the working of his mighty power, which he wrought in Christ, in raising him from the dead, and setting him on his right hand.”¹²⁰ The Colossians he taught thus: “Therefore, if you have risen with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is seated at the right hand of God.”¹²¹ In the Epistle to the Hebrews he says: “Who has effected man’s purgation from sin and taken his seat at the right hand of the Majesty on high.”¹²² And: “Now to which of the angels has he ever said, Sit at my right hand, until I make thy enemies the footstool of thy feet?”¹²³ Also: “But he, having offered one sacrifice for sins, has taken his seat forever at the right hand of God, waiting thenceforth until his enemies be made the footstool under his feet.”¹²⁴ Again: “Looking towards the author and finisher of faith, Jesus, for the joy set before him, endured a cross, despising shame, and sits at the right hand of the throne of God.”¹²⁵

116 Matt. 22.43.

117 Matt. 26.64.

118 1 Peter 3.21, 22.

119 Rom. 8.34.

120 Eph. 1.19, 20.

121 Col. 3.1.

122 Heb. 1.3.

123 *Ibid.* 1.13.

124 Heb. 10.12, 13.

125 Heb. 12.2.

(30) Though there are other testimonies to the sitting of the Only-begotten at the right hand of God, let these suffice at the moment; let me repeat, however, my observation that it was not after His coming in the flesh that He obtained the dignity of this seat; for before all ages the Only-begotten Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, ever holds the throne at the right hand of the Father. May the God of all Himself, the Father of Christ, and our Lord Jesus Christ, who descended and ascended, and sits with the Father, guard your souls; may He preserve unshaken and unchangeable your hope in Him who rose again; and may He raise you up together with Him from your dead sins to His heavenly gift, and deem you worthy to "be caught up in clouds to meet the Lord in the air,"¹²⁶ in His good time; and until that time of His glorious second coming arrives, may He write all your names in the book of the living, and after writing them, never blot them out. For the names of many who fall away are blotted out.¹²⁷ May He grant to all of you to believe in Him who rose again, and to look for Him who ascended and is to come again; He will come, but not from the earth (be on your guard, then, because of the impostors who are to come); who sits on high, and is present here with us, observing the order and steadfastness of faith in each. Do not think that because He is absent in the flesh He is therefore absent in the spirit; He is here in the midst of us, listening to what is said of Him, seeing our thoughts, searching our hearts and souls; He is ready even now to present all of you, as you come forward for Baptism in the Holy Spirit, to the Father, and say: "Look at me and the children whom the Lord has given me";¹²⁸ to whom be glory forever. Amen.

¹²⁶ 1 Thess. 4.16.

¹²⁷ Cyril probably has in mind the phrase "erased from the book of of the living" (Ps. 68.29), but the idea appears also in Apoc. 3.5, "blot his name out of the book of life."

¹²⁸ Isa. 8.18.

CATECHESIS XV

On the Words: "And He Is to Come with Glory to Judge the Living and the Dead, of Whose Kingdom There Shall Be No End"

*"As I watched, thrones were set up and the Ancient One took his throne. . . . As the visions during the night continued, I saw one like a son of man coming, on the clouds of heaven."*¹

(1) We preach not one coming of Christ, but a second as well, far more glorious than the first. The first gave us a spectacle of His patience; the second will bring with it the crown of the Kingdom of God. In general all things are twofold in our Lord Jesus Christ. His birth is twofold, one of God before the ages, and one of a virgin in the consummation of the ages. His descent is twofold, one lowly, "like the rain upon the fleece,"² and a second, His manifest coming, which is yet to be. In His first coming He was wrapped in swaddling clothes in the manger; in His second He will be "robed in light as with a cloak."³ In His first coming He "endured a cross, despising shame";⁴ in His second He will come in glory, attended by a host of angels. We do not rest, therefore, in His first coming, but we look also for His second. Just as we said of His first coming: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,"⁵ so we shall repeat the same at His second

1 Dan. 7.9, 13.

2 Cf. Ps. 71.6.

3 Ps. 103.2.

4 Heb. 12.2.

5 Matt. 21.9.

coming, saying with the angels in adoration, as we meet our Master: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord." The Savior will come this time, not to be judged, but to judge those who then judged Him. He who then was silent before His judges will remind those wicked men of their cruelty at the Cross, and say: "Such and such you did, and I was silent."⁶ Then He came by divine condescension, seeking to win men by His teaching; but this time they will of necessity, whether they will or no, submit to Him as King.

(2) Of these two comings the Prophet Malachia says: "And suddenly there will come to the temple the Lord whom you seek";⁷ that is one coming. Of the second coming he says: "And the messenger of the covenant whom you desire. Yes, he is coming, says the Lord of hosts. But who will endure the day of his coming? And who can stand when he appears? For he is like the refiner's fire, or like the fuller's lye. He will sit refining and purifying."⁸ In what immediately follows the Savior Himself says: "I will draw near to you for judgment, and I will be swift to bear witness against the sorcerers, adulterers, and perjurers."⁹ It was with this in view that Paul says in due warning: "But if anyone builds upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, straw—the work of each will be made manifest, for the day of the Lord will declare it, since the day is to be revealed in fire."¹⁰ Paul indicates these two comings also in writing to Titus in these words: "The grace of God our Savior has appeared to all men, instructing us, in order that, rejecting ungodliness and worldly lusts, we may live temperately and justly and piously in this world; looking for the blessed hope and glorious coming of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ."¹¹ Do you see how he speaks of a first coming, for which he gives thanks,

⁶ Cf. Ps. 49.21.

⁷ Mal. 3.1.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1-3.

⁹ *Ibid.* 5.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. 3.11, 12.

¹¹ Titus 2.11-13.

and of a second we are to look for? We find the same lesson in the wording of the Creed we profess, as delivered to us, that is, to believe in Him who "ascended into heaven and sat down on the right of the Father, and is to come in glory to judge living and dead, of whose kingdom there will be no end."¹²

(3) Our Lord Jesus Christ, therefore, is to come from heaven, and to come with glory at the end of this world, on the last day. For an end of this world there will be; this created world will be made new again. Corruption, theft, adultery and sins of every kind have flooded the earth, and bloodshed has been paid with blood; so to prevent this wondrous dwelling place from continuing forever filled with iniquity, this world is to pass away, to make room for a fairer world. You want proof of this from Scripture? Harken to Isaia: "The heavens shall be rolled up like a scroll, and all their hosts shall wither away as the leaf on the vine, or as the fig withers on the fig tree."¹³ And the Gospel says: "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon will not give her light, and the stars will fall from heaven."¹⁴ Let us not grieve as though we alone were to die, for the stars also will die; but perhaps they will rise again. The Lord shall fold up the heavens, not to destroy them, but to raise them up more beautiful. Listen to David the Prophet: "Of old you established the earth, and the heavens are the work of your hands. They shall perish but you remain."¹⁵ But someone will say: "Behold, he says plainly that 'they shall perish.'" Ah, but hear in what sense he says, "they shall perish"; it is clear from what follows: "though all of them grow old like a garment. Like clothing you change them, and they are changed."¹⁶ For just as man is said to perish, according to the text: "The

¹² The Creed was given in *Cat.* 5.12, but evidently the part of the Creed being explained was repeated by Cyril and his hearers in turn.

¹³ *Isa.* 34.4.

¹⁴ *Matt.* 24.29.

¹⁵ *Ps.* 101.26, 27.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 27, 28.

just perishes, and no one takes it to heart,"¹⁷ and this is said, though the resurrection is expected, so we look for a "resurrection" of the heavens. "The sun will be turned to darkness, and the moon to blood."¹⁸ Let the converts from the Manichaeans be instructed and no longer make these luminaries their gods, nor impiously think that this sun which is darkened is Christ. Listen to the Lord's words: "Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words will not pass away";¹⁹ for the Master's creatures are less precious than His words.

(4) The things that are seen, therefore, will pass away, and there shall come the things to be looked for, a fairer world. "It is not for you," He says, "to know the times or dates which the Father has fixed by his own authority."²⁰ Essay not to declare when these things shall be, nor yet supinely slumber. For He says: "Watch, therefore, because at an hour you do not expect, the Son of Man will come."²¹ But since looking for Christ we need to know the signs of the consummation, to save us from deception, destruction and delusion by the false Antichrist, the Apostle, divinely inspired, came by God's dispensation to the True Teacher and said: "Tell us, when are these things to come, and what will be the sign of thy coming and the end of the world?"²² We look for You to come again; but 'Satan disguises himself as an angel of light.'"²³ Keep us, therefore, from worshipping another than You. He, opening His divine and blessed lips, says: "Take care that no one leads you astray."²⁴ You also, my hearers, seeing Him now with the eyes of the mind, listen to Him repeating the same words to you: "Take care that no one leads you astray." This saying counsels you to pay heed to our

¹⁷ Isa. 57.1.

¹⁸ Joel 3.4.

¹⁹ Matt. 24.35.

²⁰ Acts 1.7.

²¹ Matt. 24.42, 44.

²² *Ibid.* 3.

²³ 2 Cor. 11.14.

²⁴ Matt. 24.4.

words. For it is not a history of what is past, but a prophecy of the future, and what will surely come to pass. Not that we prophesy, for we are unworthy, but we bring before you what is written and we declare the signs. Observe how much of the prophecy has come true, how much still remains, and put yourself on guard.

(5) "Take care that no one leads you astray. For many will come in my name, saying, I am the Christ, and they will lead many astray."²⁵ These words have been fulfilled in part. For already Simon Magus made this claim; Menander too, and other impious heresiarchs.²⁶ Yet others will make the same claim in our time, and after us.

(6) A second sign: "For you shall hear of wars and the rumors of wars."²⁷ Are not the Persians and Romans warring for Mesopotamia right now? Does nation rise against nation, or kingdom against kingdom,²⁸ or not? "And there will be pestilences and famines and earthquakes in various places."²⁹ These calamities have already come to pass. Again: "And terrors from heaven, and great storms."³⁰ "Watch, therefore," He says, "for you do not know at what hour your Lord is to come."³¹

(7) But we seek our own sign of His coming. We who are of the Church seek the Church's sign. The Savior says: "And then many will fall away, and will betray one another, and will hate one another."³² If you should hear of bishops in conflict with bishops, clergy against clergy, and flock against

²⁵ *Ibid.* 4, 5.

²⁶ Simon Magus claimed at different times to be Father, Son and Holy Spirit (*Cat.* 6.14). According to Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.23.5) Menander claimed to be the savior sent for the salvation of men.

²⁷ Matt. 24.6.

²⁸ After the death of Constantine there was a series of wars between the Persians and the Romans for the possession of Mesopotamia.

²⁹ Matt. 24.7. Jerome in his *Chronica* testifies to the occurrence of these calamities in the first half of the fourth century.

³⁰ Cf. Luke 21.11.

³¹ Matt. 24.42.

³² *Ibid.* 10.

flock even unto blood, do not be troubled.³³ It has been prophesied. Fix your attention, not on the events themselves, but on the fact that they have been foretold. Even if I who teach you should be lost, you must not perish along with me. It is quite possible for a disciple to surpass his master, for the last to become the first, for the Master receives those who come even at the eleventh hour. If treason was found among the Apostles, do you wonder if hatred of the brethren is found even among bishops? But this sign concerns not only the rulers but also the flock. For He says: "And because iniquity will abound, the charity of the many will grow cold."³⁴ Will anyone present boast that he has a sincere friendship for his neighbor? Is it not true that often the lips kiss, the countenance smiles, the eyes are cheerful, while the malicious heart is plotting guile with smooth words?

(8) You have this sign also, "The gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a witness to all the nations; and then will come the end."³⁵ As we see, nearly the whole world is now filled with the doctrine of Christ.

(9) What is to come to pass next? "Therefore when you see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place—let him who reads understand." Again: "Then if anyone say to you, 'Behold here is the Christ,' or 'There he is,' do not believe it."³⁶ Fraternal hatred is followed by the Antichrist. For the devil prepared divisions among the people to bring about a favorable reception when the Antichrist comes. God forbid that any of Christ's servants, here or elsewhere, should side with the enemy. Writing of this, the Apostle Paul has given a

³³ The conflict between bishops centered perhaps on the opposition of Athanasius and his followers, and those opposed to him. The factions accused each other in turn of Arianism or Sabellianism.

³⁴ Matt. 24.12.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 14. The pilgrims coming to Jerusalem from near and far would give the impression to the inhabitants that the Christian faith had been spread through the known world. (Cf. also *Cat.* 8.27 and *Cat.* 10.16.)

³⁶ The two quotations: Matt. 24.15, 23.

manifest sign: "For the day of the Lord will not come unless the apostasy comes first, and the man of sin is revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he sits in the temple of God and gives himself out as if he were God. Do you not remember that when I was still with you, I used to tell you these things? And now you know what restrains him, that he may be revealed in his proper time. For the mystery of iniquity is already at work; provided only that he who is at present restraining it, does still restrain, until he is gotten out of the way. And then the wicked one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth and will destroy with the brightness of his coming. And his coming is according to the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all wicked deception to those who are perishing."³⁷ These are Paul's words. The apostasy has come, for men have forsaken the true faith.³⁸ While some preach the identity of the Son with the Father, others dare to say that Christ was brought into being from nonbeing.³⁹ While formerly heretics were manifest, the Church is now filled with secret heretics. Men have fallen away from the truth and have itching ears. Is the discourse charming? All listen to it gladly. Does it aim at amendment? All turn aside. Many have forsaken sound doctrine; they choose the evil rather than prefer the good. The apostasy is at hand, therefore, and the Enemy's coming is to be looked for; already to some extent he has begun to send his precursors; now he has only to swoop upon his prey. So stand upon your defense, and guard your soul. The Church now charges you before the living God; before the event it briefs you about the Antichrist. Whether all this will come to pass in your time, we do

³⁷ 2 Thess. 2.3-10.

³⁸ In speaking of the apostasy here and below, Cyril has in mind defection from the true faith, not the advent of the Antichrist or the collapse of the Roman Empire.

³⁹ The two heresies referred to are Sabellianism and Arianism.

not know. But it is good to be aware of these events and to be on your guard.

(10) The True Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, comes no more from the earth. If somebody should come with vain show in the desert, do not go out. If they say: "Lo, here is Christ, lo, there," do not believe them. No more look downwards or to the earth; for it is from heaven that the Lord is to come; not alone, as before, but with a countless host of angels in His train; not secretly, like rain upon the fleece, but like blazing lightning. For He Himself has said: "As lightning comes forth from the east and shines even to the west, so also will the coming of the Son of Man be."⁴⁰ Again: "And they will see the Son of Man coming upon the clouds of heaven with great power and majesty. And he will send forth his angels with a great trumpet."⁴¹

(11) When the Incarnation was at hand and God's birth from a virgin was expected, the devil created prejudice against the holy mystery by the crafty invention among idol worshippers of fables in which gods begot and were begotten of women; thus, he felt that the truth, coming after the false, would win no credence. So, too, when the second coming of the True Christ is imminent, the adversary will take advantage of the simple, and especially of those of the circumcision, by advancing a mysterious wizard, highly skilled in the guileful craft of sorceries and enchantments; he will seize the power of the Roman Empire and falsely call himself Christ. By this title he will deceive the Jews, who await the Messiah, and by his magical illusions he will lead astray the Gentiles as well.

(12) The Antichrist is to come when the termination of the Roman Empire and the end of the world are imminent.⁴²

⁴⁰ Matt. 24.27.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 30, 31.

⁴² It was a common opinion that the Roman Empire was the fourth kingdom of Daniel (7.23), as Cyril indicates in the next chapter, and that it would last to the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world.

Ten kings of the Romans will rise up together, ruling in different places perhaps, but at the same time. Following these an eleventh, the Antichrist, seizing the Roman power by his magical arts, will humble three of the kings before him, while reducing to subjection the remaining seven. At first, posing as a learned and prudent man, he will pretend to be moderate and benevolent; he will take in the Jews as their hoped-for Messiah by deceitful signs and wonders of his magical craft; afterwards he will be so marked by the variety of his cruel and lawless crimes as to surpass all the workers of injustice and impiety before him; he will display against all men, but especially against us Christians, a sanguinary, relentless, merciless, and crafty spirit. After three and a half years of such wickedness he will be destroyed by the glorious descent of the Only-begotten Son of God, our Lord and Savior Jesus, the True Christ; He will slay the Antichrist with the breath of His mouth, and consign him to the fire of Gehenna.

(13) Our teaching is no invention on our part, but derived from the Sacred Scriptures, particularly from the prophecy of Daniel just read; the Archangel Gabriel has interpreted it thus: "The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom on earth, which shall be greater than all the kingdoms."⁴³ According to the traditional interpretation of the Fathers, this is the kingdom of the Romans. The first famous kingdom was the Assyrian, the second that of the Medes and the Persians; next came the kingdom of the Macedonians; the fourth is the present kingdom of the Romans. Subsequently, by way of interpretation Gabriel says: "The ten horns shall be ten kings rising out of that kingdom; another shall rise up after them, who shall surpass all those before him in wickedness"⁴⁴ (not only these ten, he says, but all who were before him). "And he shall lay low three kings";⁴⁵ clearly he refers to the ten

⁴³ Cf. Dan. 7.23.

⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 24.

⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

former kings, and, dethroning three of them, he will doubtless rule with the remaining seven. "He shall speak against the Most High,"⁴⁶ Gabriel says; he is a blasphemer and a transgressor of the law, who has not received the kingdom from his fathers but has seized the power by his magical arts.

(14) Can we identify this character or his deeds? Be our interpreter, O Paul. "And his coming is according to the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders";⁴⁷ this means that Satan will use him as his personal instrument. Realizing that his own condemnation will be no longer deferred, he will no longer wage war through his ministers in his usual way, but now openly, in person. "With all signs and lying wonders"; for the father of falsehood will display his lying works and cheating fancies, to make the people think they see a dead man raised, when he is not raised, and the lame walking, and the blind receiving sight, when there have been no such cures.

(15) Again Paul says: "Who opposes and is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped" (that is, above every god; Antichrist, then, is to abhor idols), "so that he sits in the temple of God."⁴⁸ What temple? He means the ruined temple of the Jews, already destroyed. God forbid that it be the one in which we are! Not with the idea of favoring ourselves do we say this. For if he is to come as Christ to the Jews, and wants their worship, with a view to deceiving them further, he will manifest the greatest zeal for the temple; he will create the impression that he is the descendent of David who is to restore the temple of Solomon. Antichrist will come when in the temple of the Jews not a stone upon a stone will be left, as our Savior foretold.⁴⁹ For when the decay of time, or demolition with a view to rebuilding, or other causes

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 25.

⁴⁷ 2 Thess. 2.9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 4.

⁴⁹ Cyril seems to believe that the Antichrist and the end of the world would follow the *total* destruction of the temple as prophesied by Christ (Matt. 24.2).

have overthrown all the stones both of the outer circuit and the inner shrine of the Cherubim, the Antichrist will appear amid all signs and lying wonders, lifting himself up against all idols; in the beginning he will pretend to be kindly, but afterwards he will display a cruel spirit against the saints of God. For Daniel says: "As I watched, that horn made war against the holy ones";⁵⁰ and elsewhere: "It shall be a time unsurpassed in distress since nations began until that time."⁵¹ He is the terrible beast, a mighty dragon, unconquerable by man, ready to devour; we have more from the Sacred Scriptures to narrate concerning him, but we shall observe due measure and content ourselves for the time with what we have said.

(16) The Lord, realizing the might of the adversary, grants indulgence to the devout saying: "Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains."⁵² But let the man who is confident that he can resist Satan take his stand (for I do not despair of the sinews of the Church) and say: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?"⁵³ Let the timid among us secure their safety, but let the courageous take a bold stand. "For then there will be great tribulation, such as has not been from the beginning of the world until now, nor will be."⁵⁴ Thanks be to God, who has confined the severe tribulation to a few days, for He says: "But for the sake of the elect those days will be shortened."⁵⁵ The Antichrist will reign but three and a half years; this assertion rests, not on apocryphal books, but on Daniel, who says: "And they shall be delivered into his hands until a time, and times, and half a time."⁵⁶ A "time" is the one year in which the Antichrist's

⁵⁰ Dan. 7.21.

⁵¹ Dan. 12.1.

⁵² Matt. 24.16.

⁵³ Rom. 8.35.

⁵⁴ Matt. 24.31.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 22.

⁵⁶ Dan. 7.25 (Douay). When Cyril mentions apocryphal books as opposed to Daniel, some see a reference to the Apocalypse, which Cyril did not include in his canon.

power will increase; but "times" signify two more years of iniquity, making a total of three years; and the "half a time" is six months. Elsewhere Daniel repeats the same words: "And he swore by him that lives forever, that it should be for a time, and times, and half a time."⁵⁷ Some may have interpreted in the same sense the following: "There shall be one thousand two hundred ninety days,"⁵⁸ and also the words: "Blessed is the man who has patience and perseverance until the one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days."⁵⁹ It may be necessary, therefore, to hide and flee; for perhaps we "will not have gone through the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes."⁶⁰

(17) What blessed men will then bear devout witness to Christ? I maintain that the martyrs of that time will surpass all martyrs. Previous martyrs would have wrestled with men only, but they will engage with Satan personally in the time of the Antichrist. Kings in former persecutions merely put men to death; they did not pretend to raise the dead or display apparent signs and marvels. But in this time the seduction of terror and deceit will be such "as to lead astray, if possible, even the elect."⁶¹ Let no one then alive entertain the thought: "What more did Christ do? By what power does this man work these wonders? Unless God so willed, He would not have permitted them." The Apostle warns you beforehand: "Therefore God sends them a misleading influence,"⁶² ("sends," that is, allows to happen,) not to give them an excuse, but for their condemnation. Why? "Who have not believed the truth," that is, in the true Christ, "but have consented to iniquity,"⁶³ that is, to the Antichrist. But in the various per-

⁵⁷ Cf. Dan. 12.7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 11. St. Hippolytus and others have interpreted the 1290 days as the extent of the reign of the Antichrist.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 12.

⁶⁰ Matt. 19.23.

⁶¹ Matt. 24.24.

⁶² 2 Thess. 2.11.

⁶³ Cf. *ibid.* 10.

secutions that arise God permits and will even then permit such happenings, not because He cannot prevent them, but as is His wont, He crowns His champions through suffering, as He crowned His Prophets and Apostles; thus toiling for a short time they inherit the eternal kingdom of heaven, according to the words of Daniel: "At that time all your people shall be saved, everyone who is found written in the book." (Clearly the book of life is meant.) "Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; some shall live forever, others shall be an everlasting horror and disgrace. But the wise shall shine brightly like the splendor of the firmament; and those who lead the many to justice shall be like the stars forever."⁶⁴

(18) Be on your guard, therefore; you know the signs of the Antichrist; do not keep them to yourself but share them generously with all. If you have a natural son admonish him now; if you have begotten one by catechizing,⁶⁵ put him also on guard against accepting the false Christ as the true. "For the mystery of iniquity is already at work."⁶⁶ I fear the wars of the nations, I fear the schisms of the Churches, I fear the mutual hatred of the brethren. But enough on these evils; God forbid that they be brought to pass in our days; yet let us be wary. So much for the Antichrist.

(19) Let us look hopefully for the Lord's coming upon the clouds of heaven. The angelic trumpets will then be sounded; the dead in Christ shall rise first; the living faithful shall be taken up in the clouds, receiving more than human honor as the reward of their superhuman efforts; thus the Apostle writes: "For the Lord Himself with cry of command, with voice of archangel, and with trumpet of God will descend from heaven; and the dead in Christ will rise up first. Then we who live, who survive, shall be caught up together with

⁶⁴ Dan. 12.2, 3.

⁶⁵ It is clear that some of the baptized faithful were present at Cyril's lectures. There were catechists deputed in the various churches.

⁶⁶ 2 Thess. 2.7.

them in clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so we shall ever be with the Lord.”⁶⁷

(20) Ecclesiastes knew of the Lord’s coming at the end of the world when he said: “Rejoice, O young man, while you are young”;⁶⁸ and subsequently: “Ward off grief from your heart, and put away trouble from your presence; remember your Creator, before the evil days come, before the sun is darkened, and the light, and the moon, and the stars; and they who look through the windows grow blind” (this signifies the power of sight); “before the silver cord is snapped” (he means the cluster of the stars, silvery in appearance); “and the golden fillet shrinks back” (here is indicated the sun with its golden aspect, for the fillet-like flower [the anthemis] is a well-known plant, with ray-like shoots of foliage circling it); “and they shall rise up at the voice of the sparrow, and they shall see from the height, and terrors shall be in the way.”⁶⁹ What shall they see? “Then they will see the Son of man coming upon clouds of heaven”⁷⁰ and they will mourn, tribe by tribe. What happens when the Lord comes? “The almond tree will bloom, and the locust will grow sluggish and the caper berry will be scattered abroad.”⁷¹ According to the interpreters the blooming of the almond tree signifies the passing of winter; our bodies, after the winter, then, are to flourish with a heavenly bloom.⁷² “And the locust will grow sluggish,” signifies the winged soul clothing itself with the body; “and the caper berry will be scattered abroad”; this suggests that the wicked, like thorns, will be scattered.

(21) You see how all proclaim the coming of the Lord; you see how they know the voice of the sparrow. Let us learn the nature of this voice. “For the Lord Himself with cry of

⁶⁷ 1 Thess. 4.16-17.

⁶⁸ Eccles. 11.9.

⁶⁹ Cf. Eccles. 11.10; 12.1-6.

⁷⁰ Matt. 24.30.

⁷¹ Cf. Eccles. 12.5.

⁷² Cyril seems to believe that the general resurrection will take place in the spring.

command, with voice of archangel, and with trumpet of God will descend from heaven.”⁷³ An Archangel will utter a proclamation, saying to all: “Rise to meet the Lord.” Awesome indeed will be that descent of the Master. David says: “God shall come manifestly: our God shall come, and shall not keep silence. A fire shall burn before him: and a mighty tempest shall be round about him.”⁷⁴ According to the Scripture just read, the son of Man will come to the Father,⁷⁵ in the clouds of heaven, trailing a stream of fire, which shall try men. A man whose works are golden shall be made more splendid; if a man’s actions have been unsubstantial like stubble, he shall be burned by fire. The Father sits, having “his clothing snow white, and the hair on his head as white as wool.”⁷⁶ This is said after the manner of men. Why? Because He is King of those undefiled by sins. For He says: “I shall make your sins as white as snow and as wool,”⁷⁷ signifying forgiveness of sins, or actual sinlessness. The Lord who ascended on clouds will come from heaven on clouds. For He has said: “And they shall see the Son of Man coming upon the clouds of heaven with great power and majesty.”⁷⁸

(22) But what is the sign of His coming—to prevent a hostile power from daring to imitate it? “And then will appear,” He says, “the sign of the Son of Man in heaven.”⁷⁹

⁷³ 1 Thess. 4.16.

⁷⁴ Ps. 49.3 (Douay).

⁷⁵ Since Cyril is here speaking of the coming of our Lord from heaven, the expression “will come *to* the Father” is unsettling, since “*from* the Father” would appear to be what is meant. But, as he states, Cyril has in mind the Biblical reading that preceded this Lenten Lecture, and there (Dan. 7.13) the “son of man” is described as having come *to* “the ancient of days” “on the clouds of heaven.” Cyril’s concern appears to be with the image rather than the direction of movement. Perhaps also, by way of parallel with the context in Daniel (cf. 7.14), there is the suggestion that Christ comes to the Father first to receive the commission to judge all men.

⁷⁶ Cf. Dan. 7.9.

⁷⁷ Cf. Isa. 1.18.

⁷⁸ Matt. 24.30.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* Cf. Letter to Constantius 4 and 6, where Cyril records an appearance of a luminous cross at Jerusalem and predicts it will be seen again at the second coming of Christ.

The true sign, Christ's own, is the Cross. A sign of a luminous cross precedes the King, showing Him who was formerly crucified; and so the Jews, who before had pierced Him and plotted against Him, on seeing it, will mourn tribe by tribe, saying: "This is He who was struck with blows, this is He whose face they spat upon, this is He whom they fastened with bonds; this is He whom of old they crucified and held in derision. Where," they will say, "shall we flee from the face of Your wrath?" Surrounded by the angelic hosts, they can never escape. The sign of the Cross will terrify His foes but will give joy to His faithful friends, who have heralded Him or suffered for Him. How blessed the man who will then be found a friend of Christ! That great and glorious King, attended by angels and sharing His Father's throne, will not despise His faithful servants. To prevent His elect from being confused with His enemies, "He will send forth his angels with a great trumpet, and they will gather his elect from the four winds."⁸⁰ He did not despise one man, Lot; how then will He despise the multitude of the just? "Come, blessed of my Father,"⁸¹ He will say to those who will then ride upon chariots of clouds and be gathered together by angels.

(23) But someone present will say: "I am poor," or "I may be sick in bed at the time," or "I shall be taken, a woman in the mill"; "Shall we be overlooked?" Take heart; the Judge is no respecter of persons. "Not by appearance shall he judge nor by hearsay shall he decide."⁸² He does not esteem the learned above the simple, nor the rich above the poor. Though you be in the fields the angels will take you. Do not think that He will take the lords of the land but will leave you, the husbandman. Though you be a slave, though you be poor, have no anxiety; He who took the form of a servant will not despise servants. Though you lie sick in bed, it is written: then "there will be two on one bed; one will be taken, and

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 31.

⁸¹ Matt. 25.34.

⁸² Cf. Isa. 11.3.

the other will be left.”⁸³ Though you be forced to grind in the mill, man or woman, though you be in bonds and attached to the mill, yet He “who leads forth those bound in strength,”⁸⁴ will not overlook you.⁸⁵ He brought Joseph out of bondage and prison to a kingdom; He will redeem you too from your afflictions and lead you into the kingdom of heaven. Only take courage, toil and strive zealously, for nothing will be lost. Every prayer you make, every psalm you sing is recorded; every alms, every fast is recorded, every lawful marriage as well as continence for God’s sake, is recorded. First in the lists are the crowns for virginity and purity, and you shall shine as an angel. You have listened gladly to the good; listen patiently now to the opposite. Your every act of covetousness is recorded, and every act of fornication; every false oath is recorded, every blasphemy, sorcery, theft and murder. All these are henceforth recorded, if after Baptism you commit the same faults; for what went before is blotted out.

(24) “But when the Son of Man,” He says, “shall come in his majesty, and all the angels with him.”⁸⁶ Just imagine before how many witnesses you will come to judgment. The whole human race will then be present. Consider the magnitude of the Roman Empire; consider how many barbarian tribes are now in existence, and how many have disappeared in the last hundred years; reckon the number buried in the last thousand years; compute the total number of men from Adam to the present day. It is a huge multitude but smaller in number than the angels. The ninety-nine sheep and the one constitute the ratio of angels to men.⁸⁷ For we must calculate their number according to the total extent of space.

⁸³ Luke 17.34.

⁸⁴ Cf. Ps. 67.7.

⁸⁵ Cyril, like so many saints before and after him, thought he saw at hand the signs of the end of the world and the second coming of Christ. He speaks as though some of his hearers might be alive at the second coming.

⁸⁶ Matt. 25.31.

⁸⁷ Where Cyril got the idea that space is crowded with angels is not clear—possibly from Origen.

The entire earth may be compared to a point in the middle of one heaven; the multitude dwelling in this vast encircling heaven must be enormous. The numbers in the heaven of heavens are beyond all reckoning. Indeed it is written: "Thousands of thousands were ministering to him, and myriads upon myriads attended him";⁸⁸ the multitude is not exactly expressed, because the prophet could not express a larger number. Present then at the judgment will be God, the Father of all, Jesus Christ sitting with Him, present too, the Holy Spirit. The angelic trumpet will summon us all, bringing our deeds with us. Ought we not henceforth be touched with anxiety? Consider the added penalty, apart from punishment, of being condemned in the presence of so many. Should we not prefer to die many times over than to be condemned by friends?

(25) Let us be fearful, my dear brethren, of God's condemnation. He needs no examination or proofs for condemnation. Do not say: "At night I committed fornication," or "I made use of magical arts," or "I committed a certain other deed, and there was no man at hand." From your own conscience you will be judged, as your conflicting thoughts accuse or defend you, "on the day when God will judge the hidden secrets of men."⁸⁹ The awe-inspiring countenance of the Judge will compel you to speak the truth, or rather, though you are silent, it will convict you. For you will rise clothed in your sins or your just deeds. The Judge Himself declared this. (For it is Christ who judges. "For neither does the Father judge any man, but all judgment he has given to the Son";⁹⁰ the Father does not deprive Himself of His power, but judges through the Son. Therefore by the will of the Father the Son judges; for the wills of the Father and the Son are not different, but one and the same.) What, then, does the Judge say about your bearing or not bearing your deeds? "And before

⁸⁸ Dan. 7.10.

⁸⁹ Rom. 2.15, 16.

⁹⁰ John 5.22.

him will be gathered all the nations.”⁹¹ In the presence of Christ “every knee should bend of those in heaven, on earth and under the earth.”⁹² “And he will separate them one from another, as the shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.”⁹³ How does the shepherd do this? Does he seek from a book which is a sheep and which a goat? or does he decide from the evident facts? Does not the wool manifest the sheep, and the hairy and rough skin the goat? So with you too, once you have been cleansed of your sins, your deeds will be as pure wool, your robe unstained, and you will say always: “I have taken off my robe, how shall I put it on?”⁹⁴ By your vesture you will be recognized as a sheep. But if you shall be found hairy, like Esau, who was shaggy of body and wicked of mind, who lost his birthright for food, and sold his prerogative, you will be among those on the left hand. God forbid that anyone present fall from grace, or because of evil deeds be found in the ranks of sinners on the left hand!

(26) The judgment will be awesome, the sentence an occasion for dread. The kingdom of heaven lies before us, everlasting fire has been prepared. Some one will ask, how can we escape the fire, how can we enter into the kingdom? “I was hungry,” He says, “and you gave me to eat.”⁹⁵ Learn the way now; have done with allegory and fulfill what is said. “I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you covered me; sick and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to see me.”⁹⁶ If these words describe your conduct, you will reign with Him; if not, you will be condemned. Therefore begin now to act thus; persevere in the faith; avoid being shut out like the foolish virgins, who delayed to buy oil. It is not enough that you have the lamp, you must keep

91 Matt. 24.32.

92 Phil. 2.10.

93 Matt. 25.32.

94 Cant. 5.3.

95 Matt. 25.35.

96 *Ibid.* 35, 36.

it burning. Let the light of your good deeds shine before men; let not Christ be blasphemed because of you. Put on an incorruptible garment, bright with good works. Administer well any stewardship entrusted to you by God. Have you been granted riches? Then dispense them rightly. Has the task of teaching been committed to you? Carry it out zealously. Many are the portals of good stewardship. Only let none of us be condemned and cast out, but rather may we with confidence meet Christ the eternal King, who reigns forever. For He reigns forever, who judges living and dead, having died for the living and the dead. As Paul says: "For to this end Christ died and rose again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living."⁹⁷

(27) If you hear anyone say that the kingdom of Christ will have an end, abhor this assertion as heresy. It is another head of the dragon, which sprang up recently in Galatia.⁹⁸ A certain reckless fellow maintained that after the end of the world Christ will reign no longer. He added that the Word, which issued from the Father, will be resolved again into the Father, and will exist no more—uttering such blasphemies to his own destruction. For he paid no heed to the Lord's words: "The Son abides forever."⁹⁹ He did not hearken to Gabriel, who said: "He shall be king over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end."¹⁰⁰ Consider whether you would rather believe the Archangel Gabriel, who taught that our Savior will abide forever, or the heretics who teach the contrary. Gabriel, of course. Listen to the apt testimony of Daniel: "As the visions during the night continued, I saw one like a son of man coming in the clouds of heaven; when he reached the Ancient One and was presented before him, he received dominion, glory and kingship; nations and peoples of every

⁹⁷ Rom. 14.9.

⁹⁸ The reference is to Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia.

⁹⁹ John 8.35.

¹⁰⁰ Luke 1.32, 33.

language serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that shall not be taken away, his kingship shall not be destroyed."¹⁰¹ Hold fast to these truths and believe them, and cast aside all heresy. For you have been given clear proof that the kingdom of Christ will never end.

(28) The stone hewn without hands from the mountain—this is Christ according to the flesh—carries a similar interpretation. "And his kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people."¹⁰² And David says: "Your throne, O God, stands forever and ever";¹⁰³ and elsewhere: "Of old you established the earth," and subsequently: "They shall perish, but you remain," and then: "But you are the same and your years have no end";¹⁰⁴ these words Paul has interpreted as referring to the Son.¹⁰⁵

(29) Learn how they who teach heresy came to such madness. They read wrongly the words of the Apostle: "For he must reign, until he has put all his enemies under his feet";¹⁰⁶ they say that when His enemies have been put under His feet He will reign no longer, a foolish and perverse assertion. For surely He who is King before He has subdued His enemies will be King after He has overcome them.

(30) They have recklessly asserted also that the text, "When all things are made subject to him, then the Son himself will also be made subject to him who subjected all things to him,"¹⁰⁷ signifies that the Son is to be absorbed into the Father. Tell me, you most impious men, will you, the creatures of Christ, endure, but Christ, through whom you and all things were made, perish? This would be downright blasphemy. Again, how will all things be subject to Him? By

¹⁰¹ Dan. 7.13, 14 (Sept.).

¹⁰² Cf. Dan. 2.44.

¹⁰³ Ps. 44.7.

¹⁰⁴ Ps. 101.26-28.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Heb. 1.8-12.

¹⁰⁶ 1 Cor. 15.25. In what follows Cyril explains the source of Marcellus' error, as he conceives it.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 28.

perishing or enduring? Or will all else that is subject to the Son abide, but the Son, subject to the Father, not abide? He will be subject, not as though beginning to obey the Father (for from all eternity "he does always the things that please him"¹⁰⁸), but because then too He will tender not a forced obedience, but a self-chosen conformity. For He is not a servant subject to necessity, but a Son, obeying from choice and affection.

(31) Let us ask the heretics the meaning of "until," or "as far as." For with these words I shall engage them at close quarters and attempt to refute their error. They have dared to assert that the text, "Until he has put all his enemies under his feet," signifies His end; they would limit His eternal kingdom and literally terminate his never-ending dominion. Let us further consider similar phrases in the Apostle. For example: "Yet death reigned from Adam until Moses."¹⁰⁹ Are we to believe that men up to Moses died, but none thereafter? or that after the Law there was death no longer among men? You see that the word "until" does not denote a limit of time; rather Paul has shown clearly that though Moses was a just and admirable man, nevertheless the sentence of death pronounced against Adam affected him also and those who came after him, even though they had not committed sins like Adam's disobedience in eating of the tree.

(32) Consider another similar text: "Down to this day, when Moses is read, the veil covers their hearts."¹¹⁰ Does "down to this day" mean until Paul only? Is it not until this present day and unto the end? If Paul can say to the Corinthians: "Since we reached as far as you with the gospel of Christ, but we hope, as your faith increases, to preach the gospel in places that lie beyond you,"¹¹¹ you see clearly that "as far as"

108 Cf. John 8.29.

109 Rom. 5.14.

110 Cf. 2 Cor. 3.14.

111 2 Cor. 10.14, 15.

does not denote the end, but has something following it. How then should you take the text, "Until he has put his enemies"? Just as Paul in another place says: "But exhort one another every day, while it is still Today,"¹¹² that is, continually. For just as one should not speak of the beginning of the days of Christ, so suffer no one at any time to speak of the end of His kingdom. For it is written: "His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom."¹¹³

(33) I have more testimonies from the Sacred Scriptures about the everlasting kingdom of Christ, but I shall be content with what I have advanced, since it is late. Worship Christ only as King, my dear brethren, and shun all error of heresy. With God's grace you will get an explanation of the remaining articles of the faith in good time. May the God of all protect you all, ever mindful of the signs of the consummation, and unvanquished by the Antichrist. You have heard the signs of the impostor to come; you have received the proofs of the True Christ, who will come down openly from heaven. Therefore shun him who is false, and look for Him, who is the True. You have been taught the way, how in the judgment you may be found among those on the right hand. Guard what has been committed to you concerning Christ, and be conspicuous for good works; thus you will stand confidently before your Judge and inherit the kingdom of heaven: through whom and with whom be glory to God with the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

¹¹² Heb. 3.13.

¹¹³ Dan. 3.100.

CATECHESIS XVI

On the Holy Spirit (1)

“Now concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant. Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit.”¹

(1) Spiritual grace is surely needed to discourse about the Holy Spirit; I do not mean, to speak in keeping with His dignity, for that is impossible, but to run our course without danger, when we adduce the words of Sacred Scripture. For that is a truly awesome statement in the Gospels, where Christ has said plainly: “But whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven him, either in this world or in the world to come.”² A man must often fear to say, either from ignorance or assumed reverence, what is improper about the Holy Spirit, and thereby come under this condemnation. Jesus Christ, the Judge of living and dead, has declared that such a man has no pardon; what hope is there for a man guilty of the offence?

(2) Therefore we must rely on the grace of Jesus Christ to grant us the faculty of speaking without defect, and to grant you the gift of hearing with understanding; for there is need of understanding, not only for those who speak, but also for those who hear; else they may hear one thing and wrongly conceive another in mind. Let us assert of the Holy Spirit, therefore, only what is written; let us not busy ourselves about what is not written. The Holy Spirit has authored the Scrip-

¹ 1 Cor. 12.1, 4.

² Matt. 12.32.

tures; He has spoken of Himself all that He wished, or all that we could grasp; let us confine ourselves to what He has said, for it is reckless to do otherwise.

(3) There is One Holy Spirit, the Advocate. As there is One God, the Father, and there is no second Father, and as there is one Only-begotten Son and Word of God, and He has no brother, so there is one only Holy Spirit, and there is no second Spirit equal in honor to Him. The Holy Spirit is a mighty Power, a being divine and unsearchable. He is living and rational, the Sanctifier of all things made by God through Christ. He enlightens the souls of the just; He inspired the prophets; he inspired the Apostles in the New Testament. Let them be abhorred who dare to divide the operation of the Holy Spirit. There is One God, the Father, Lord of the Old and the New Testament, and One Lord Jesus Christ, who was prophesied in the Old, and came in the New Testament, and One Holy Spirit, who heralded Christ through the Prophets, and when Christ came, descended and showed him forth.³

(4) Let no one, therefore, separate the Old from the New Testament, and say that the Spirit in the Old is one and in the New another; to do so is to offend the Holy Spirit Himself, who is honored with Father and Son, and on the occasion of holy Baptism is included with them in the Holy Trinity. For the Only-begotten Son of God said in express terms to the Apostles: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."⁴ Our hope is in Father, Son and Holy Spirit. We do not proclaim three gods; let the Marcionists be put to silence; but with Holy Spirit, through

³ In the opening chapters there is a sound statement of Christian doctrine very carefully phrased in the light of current heresies. After the third chapter in one manuscript there is an interpolation of about forty lines. Part of this has been identified as a passage from a catechetical oration of Gregory of Nyssa; the rest is of unknown origin.

⁴ Matt. 28.19.

one Son, we preach one God. The faith is indivisible, the worship inseparable. We do not divide the Holy Trinity, like some, nor do we confuse the Persons, like Sabellius.⁵ In true piety we know one Father, who sent His Son to be our Savior; we know one Son, who promised to send the Advocate from the Father; we know the Holy Spirit, who spoke in the prophets, and on Pentecost descended upon the Apostles in the form of fiery tongues here in Jerusalem, in the Upper Church of the Apostles. The most honored privileges are ours. Here Christ descended from heaven; here the Holy Spirit descended from heaven. It is particularly fitting that as we speak of Christ and Golgotha here on Golgotha, so also we should speak of the Holy Spirit in the Upper Church; but since He who descended there shares the glory of Him who was crucified here, therefore we speak here also of Him who descended there, for their worship is indivisible.

(5) We wish, then, to speak of the Holy Spirit; not indeed to describe His essence in exact detail, for that would be impossible, but to note the various errors of certain men concerning Him, and so save us from ever being carried away through ignorance; to cut off the paths of error, and so thereby travel the one royal highway. If by way of caution we repeat any statement of these heresies, may this be turned upon the heads of the heretics; and let us be guiltless, both us who speak, and you who hear.

(6) For the heretics, impious always, have sharpened their tongues against the Holy Spirit, and have recklessly uttered abominations, as Irenaeus has recounted in his books against the heretics.⁶ Some have even said that they themselves were the Holy Spirit; the first of these was Simon the magician, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; for when he was cast

⁵ The reference in "some" is mainly to the Arians, who reduced the Son to a creature, and who held the Holy Spirit was inferior even to the Son.

⁶ In his work *Adversus haereses* St. Irenaeus details the peculiar doctrines of the Gnostics and others on the Holy Spirit (1.2.5f.). For Simon in the next sentence see Acts 8.9ff.

out he did not hesitate to teach such heresy. The so-called Gnostics, impious men, uttered other falsehoods against the Holy Spirit, and the wicked Valentinians still others. The accursed Mani had the audacity to say that he was the Advocate sent by Christ. Others again have asserted that there is one Spirit in the Prophets, and another in the New Testament; so diverse is their error, or rather their blasphemy. Abhor such men, therefore, and shun the blasphemers of the Holy Spirit, for whom there is no pardon. For what fellowship have you with men without hope, you, who are about to be baptized even now in the Holy Spirit? If he who attaches himself to the thief and runs with him is liable to punishment, what hope will he have who offends against the Holy Spirit?

(7) Let the Marcionists also be detested, who have stripped from the New Testament the words of the Old. For the abominable Marcion, who first asserted three gods,⁷ knowing that testimonies of the Prophets concerning Christ are inserted in the New Testament, cut out these Old Testament testimonies, to leave the King without witness. The Gnostics also, mentioned above, are to be abhorred; their name signifies knowledge, though their ignorance is profound. They have rashly spoken about the Holy Spirit fables such as I do not dare to repeat.

(8) Abominate the Cataphrygians also and Montanus, their ringleader in evil, and his two prophetesses, Maximilla and Priscilla. This man, who was out of his mind and truly mad (for otherwise he would not have said such things), dared to say that he himself was the Holy Spirit. He was a miserable creature, sunk in all impurity and wantonness; I can only hint at his corruption, out of respect for the women here present. When he had seized upon Pepusa, a tiny village in Phrygia and falsely named it Jerusalem, on the pretext of

⁷ Of the three gods of Marcion one was good, the father of Christ, another bad, the devil who rules the nations, and a third in between, the creator of the world, the God of the Jews.

their so-called mysteries, he cut the throats of wretched little children and chopped them into pieces for their unholy banquets; because of this, until rather recent times, in the periods of persecution, we were suspected of these crimes; for these Montanists are also called, falsely, it is true, by the common name of Christians; Montanus, I repeat, went so far as to call himself the Holy Spirit, though he was a monster of impiety and cruelty, and subject to inexorable condemnation.

(9) Not otherwise was the nefarious Mani, a veritable garbage bin of all heresy; reaching the lowest depths of perdition, he collected the worst features of all the heresies, and developed and preached a more novel error. He did not hesitate to assert that he was the Advocate whom Christ had promised to send. Now the Savior, in promising Him, said to the Apostles: "But wait here in the city" of Jerusalem "until you are clothed with power from on high."⁸ What follows? Did the Apostles, dead two hundred years, wait for Mani, "until they should be clothed with power"?⁹ Will anyone dare to assert that they were not filled with the Holy Spirit from Pentecost on? For it is written: "Then they laid hands on them and they received the Holy Spirit."¹⁰ This happened many years before Mani, once the Holy Spirit descended on the day of Pentecost.

(10) Why was Simon Magus condemned? Was it not because he came to the Apostles and said: "Give me this power, so that on whomever I shall lay my hands he may receive the Holy Spirit"?¹¹ He did not say, "Give me also the participation in the Holy Spirit," but "Give me this power," with a view to selling to others what could not be sold—something he himself did not possess. He offered money to men without pos-

⁸ Luke 24.49.

⁹ Mani appeared A.D. 277 (*Cat.* 6.20); so according to Cyril's reckoning the death of the last Apostle would be roughly A. D. 77.

¹⁰ Acts 8.17.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 19.

sessions, and that too after seeing men bring the price of what they sold and lay it at the feet of the Apostles. He did not realize that they who trod underfoot the wealth offered for the sustenance of the poor would surely never sell him the power of the Holy Spirit for a price. But what do they say to Simon? "Thy money go to destruction with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God could be purchased with money."¹² For in hoping to sell the grace of the Spirit you are another Judas. If Simon, who wished to purchase this power for a price, merits perdition, how monstrous is the impiety of Mani, who asserted that he was the Holy Spirit? Let us loathe those worthy of hatred; let us shun those from whom God turns away. Let us confidently say to God regarding all heretics: "Did I not hate, O Lord, those who hated you: and did I not pine away because of your enemies?"¹³ For there is an enmity that is laudable, as it is written: "I will put enmity between you and the woman, between your seed and her seed."¹⁴ Friendship with the serpent produces enmity with God, and death.

(11) Enough about these outcasts. Let us return to the Sacred Scriptures and "drink water from our own cisterns and running water from our own wells."¹⁵ Let us drink of the living water, "springing up unto life everlasting."¹⁶ The Savior "said this of the Spirit whom they who believed in him were to receive."¹⁷ Consider what He says: "He who believes in me," and not simply this, but "as the Scripture says"—He has referred you back to the Old Testament—"from within him there shall flow rivers of living water";¹⁸ not visible rivers merely watering the earth with its thorns and trees, but enlightening souls. Elsewhere He says: "But the

¹² *Ibid.* 20.

¹³ Ps. 138.21.

¹⁴ Gen. 3.15.

¹⁵ Cf. Prov. 5.15.

¹⁶ John 4.14.

¹⁷ John 7.39.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 38.

water I shall give him shall become in him a fountain of water, springing up into life everlasting";¹⁹ a new kind of water, living and springing up, springing up for those who are worthy.

(12) Why has He called the grace of the Spirit water? Because all things depend on water; water produces herbs and living things; water of the showers comes down from heaven, and coming down in one form, has manifold effects; one fountain waters the whole of Paradise; one and the same rain comes down on all the world, yet it becomes white in the lily, red in the rose, purple in the violets and hyacinths, different and many-colored in manifold species; thus it is one in the palm tree and other in the vine, and all in all things, though it is uniform, and does not vary in itself. For the rain does not change, coming down now as one thing and now as another, but it adapts itself to the things receiving it and becomes what is suitable to each. Similarly the Holy Spirit, being One and of One Nature and indivisible, imparts to each man His grace "according as he will."²⁰ The dry tree when watered brings forth shoots; so too the soul in sin, once it is made worthy through penance of the grace of the Holy Spirit, flowers into justice. Though the Spirit is One in nature, yet by the will of God and in the name of the Son, He brings about many virtuous effects. For He employs the tongue of one man for wisdom, He illumines the soul of another by prophecy, to another He grants the power of driving out devils, to another the gift of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures; He strengthens the self-control of one man, teaches another the nature of almsgiving, and still another to fast and mortify himself, another to despise the things of the body; he prepares another man for martyrdom, acting differently in different men, though He Himself is not diverse, as it is written: "Now the manifestation of the Spirit is given

¹⁹ John 4.14.

²⁰ 1 Cor. 12.11.

to everyone for profit. To one through the Spirit is given the utterance of wisdom; and to another the utterance of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith, in the same Spirit; to another the gift of healing, in the one Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another the distinguishing of spirits; to another various kinds of tongues; to another interpretation of tongues. But all these things are the work of one and the same Spirit, who divides to everyone according as he will.”²¹

(13) There are many statements of spirit in general in the Sacred Scriptures, and a man could easily become confused from ignorance, if he did not know to what sort of spirit the particular text refers; therefore, we must be sure of the nature of the Holy Spirit according to Scripture. For example Aaron is called Christ (anointed), and David also, and Saul and others are called Christs, yet there is only one True Christ; similarly since the name of spirit has been given to many things, we must determine what in particular is called the Holy Spirit. Many things are called spirits; our soul is called spirit; this wind which is blowing is called spirit; great valor is called spirit; impure action is called spirit; and a hostile devil is called spirit. Take care, therefore, when you hear such things, not to mistake one for another because of the similarity of name. Scripture says of the soul: “When his spirit departs he returns to the earth”;²² and again of the soul: “Who forms the spirit of man within him.”²³ It says in the Psalms of the angels: “Who make your angels spirits”;²⁴ it says of the wind: “With a vehement spirit thou shalt break in pieces the ships of Tharsis”;²⁵ and: “As the trees of the woods are moved with the spirit”;²⁶ and: “Fire, hail, snow, ice, spirit of storm.”²⁷ Our Lord says of His blessed teaching: “The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life,”²⁸ that is,

21 *Ibid.* 7-11.

22 Ps. 145.4.

23 Zach. 12.1.

24 Ps. 103.4.

25 Ps. 47.8 (Douay).

26 Isa. 7.2 (Douay).

27 Cf. Ps. 148.8.

28 John 6.64.

they are spiritual. The Holy Spirit is not an utterance of the tongue; He is living, granting wise speech, speaking and discoursing Himself.

(14) Do you wish to learn of His speaking and discoursing? Philip by the revelation of an angel went down into the way leading to Gaza, when the eunuch was approaching, "and the Spirit said to Philip: 'Go near and keep close to this carriage.'"²⁹ Note how the Spirit speaks to one who listens. Ezechiel says: "The spirit of the Lord fell upon me, and he told me to say: 'Thus says the Lord'";³⁰ and again: "The Holy Spirit said" to the Apostles at Antioch: "'Set apart for me Saul and Barnabas unto the work to which I have called them.'"³¹ You see the Spirit living, setting apart, calling and sending with authority. And Paul: "Except that in every city the Holy Spirit warns me, saying that imprisonment and persecution are awaiting me."³² This is the good Sanctifier of the Church, her Helper and Teacher, the Holy Spirit, the Advocate, of whom our Savior said: "He will teach you all things," and He did not say merely "He will teach," but also: "and he will bring to your mind whatever I have said to you";³³ for the teaching of Christ and that of the Holy Spirit are the same, not different. The Spirit testified to Paul beforehand of the future, to confirm him in heart by that foreknowledge. All this has special reference to the text: "The words that I have spoken to you are spirit,"³⁴ and so you must not consider these words a mere utterance of the lips, but sound doctrine.

(15) Sin, as I said before, is called spirit, but in another and contrary sense, as when it is said: "For the spirit of harlotry has led them astray."³⁵ The name "spirit" is applied

²⁹ Acts 8.29.

³⁰ Ezech. 11.5.

³¹ Acts 13.2.

³² Acts 20.23.

³³ John 14.26.

³⁴ John 6.64.

³⁵ Osee 4.12.

to the unclean spirit, the devil, but with the addition, "the unclean": for the epithet is attached in each case, to signify its particular nature. When Scripture refers to the soul of a man as a "spirit," it is with the addition "of man"; if to the wind, it says, "spirit of storm"; if to sin, "spirit of harlotry," if to the devil, "an unclean spirit"; in this way we know to what particular thing the term refers, and need not think that it means the Holy Spirit. God forbid! For this word spirit is common to many things; everything that does not have a solid body is generally called spirit. Since the devils do not have such bodies they are called spirits; but there is a great difference. When the unclean devil comes upon a man's soul—may the Lord deliver from him every soul of those who hear me, and of those who are not present—it is like a wolf upon a sheep, greedy for blood, ready to devour. His advent is fierce; there is a sense of oppression; the mind is darkened; his attack is unjust, a seizure of another's possession. He forcibly uses another's body and another's bodily member as his own. He casts down him who stands upright—for he is kin to him who fell from heaven—; he perverts the tongue, he twists the lips; foam comes instead of words; the man is blinded; his eye is open, yet through it the soul sees nothing, and wretched man quivers and trembles at the point of death. The devils are truly enemies of men in abusing them so foully and pitilessly.

(16) Not such is the Holy Spirit; God forbid! His actions on the contrary, effect what is good and salutary. First of all, His coming is gentle, the perception of Him fragrant, His yoke light; rays of light and knowledge shine forth before His coming. He comes with the heart of a true guardian; He comes to save, to cure, to admonish, to strengthen, to console, to enlighten the mind, first of the man who receives Him, then through him the minds of others also. As a man previously in darkness and suddenly seeing the sun gets the faculty of sight and sees clearly what he did not see before, so the man

deemed worthy of the Holy Spirit is enlightened in soul, and sees beyond human sight what he did not know. Though his body is upon the earth his soul beholds the heavens as in a mirror. He sees, like Isaia, "the Lord seated on a high and lofty throne";³⁶ he sees, like Ezechiel, "him who is above the cherubim";³⁷ he sees, like Daniel, "thousands upon thousands and myriads upon myriads";³⁸ and little man sees the beginning and the end of the world, the times in between, the successions of kings; in short, things he had not learned, for the True Enlightener is at hand. The man is confined within walls; yet his power of knowledge ranges far and wide, and he perceives even the actions of others.

(17) Peter was not at hand when Ananias and Sapphira sold their possessions, but he was present by the Spirit. "Why," he says, "has Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldst lie to the Holy Spirit?"³⁹ There was no accuser; there was no witness; how did he know what had happened? "While it yet remained, did it not remain thine; and after it was sold, was not the money at thy disposal? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thy heart?"⁴⁰ Peter, an unlettered man, by the grace of the Spirit came to know what not even the wise men of the Greeks knew. You have the like in the case of Eliseus. When he had freely healed the leprosy of Naaman, Giezi accepted the reward, taking for himself the reward of another's success. Giezi took the money from Naaman and put it in a dark place. But the darkness is not dark to the saints. When he returned Eliseus questioned him; and just as Peter, when he said: "Tell me, did you sell the land for so much,"⁴¹ so Eliseus asks: "Whence comest thou, Giezi?"⁴² Not in ignorance do I ask, 'Whence comest thou?' You have come from darkness

³⁶ Isa. 6.1.

³⁷ Cf. Ezech. 10.1.

³⁸ Dan. 7.10.

³⁹ Acts 5.3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 8.

⁴² 4 Kings 5.25.

and into darkness you will go. You have sold the cure of the leper, and you will inherit the leprosy yourself. I have fulfilled," he says, "the command of Him who said to me: 'Freely you have received, freely give.'⁴³ But you have sold the grace; receive also the wages of the sale." But what does Eliseus say to him? "Did not my heart go forth with you?⁴⁴ I was here shut up in the body, but the spirit given to me by God saw even things far away, and showed me what was happening elsewhere." Consider how He removes ignorance and instills knowledge. You see how the Holy Spirit enlightens souls.

(18) Isaia lived almost a thousand years ago, and saw Sion as a hut. The city was still standing, beautified with public squares and clothed in honor; yet he says: "Sion shall be plowed like a field";⁴⁵ foretelling what has been fulfilled in our day. Observe the exactness of the prophecy; for he said: "Daughter Sion shall be left like a hut in a vineyard, like a shed in a melon patch."⁴⁶ Now the place is full of melon patches. Do you see how the Holy Spirit enlightens the saints? Therefore do not be distracted by a common term, but hold fast to what is exactly true.

(19) Whenever a goodly thought on chastity or virginity occurs to you as you sit here, it is due to His teaching. Has it not often happened that a maiden, on the very threshold of the bridal chamber, has fled away, through the inspiration of His teaching on virginity?⁴⁷ Or that a man distinguished at court has scorned wealth and honor, on being taught by the Holy Spirit? Is it not true that often a young man on beholding beauty has closed his eyes and fled the sight, and thus escaped defilement? How did this come to pass, you ask? The Holy Spirit taught the young man's soul. Covetous desires

⁴³ Matt. 10.8.

⁴⁴ Cf. 4 Kings 5.26.

⁴⁵ Mich. 3.12. A slip on the part of Cyril, who assigns this text to Isaia.

⁴⁶ Isa. 1.8.

⁴⁷ Some have thought that Cyril has in mind St. Thecla, whose fame was great in Jerusalem, though undoubtedly there were other examples in the lives of the saints.

abound in the world; yet Christians live in poverty. Why? Because of the prompting of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, the Good Spirit is truly worthy of honor, and it is fitting that we are baptized into Father, Son and Holy Spirit. A man still encumbered with the body wrestles with many cruel demons; often the demon, unconquerable by iron bonds, is conquered by the man through prayer, by virtue of the Holy Spirit within him.⁴⁸ The simple breathing of the exorcist becomes as fire to the invisible foe. We have from God, therefore, a strong Ally and Protector, a mighty Teacher and Champion in our behalf. Let us not fear the demons nor the devil, for our Defender is mightier; let us but open up the doors to Him; for He goes about seeking those worthy, seeking to whom He may impart His gifts.

(20) He is called Comforter, because He comforts and encourages us, and "helps our weakness. For we do not know what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit Himself pleads for us with unutterable groanings,"⁴⁹ that is, clearly, to God. Often a man for Christ's sake has been treated with contumely and unjustly dishonored; martyrdom is at hand, tortures on every side, fire, swords, wild beasts, and the abyss; but the Holy Spirit gently whispers to him: "Wait for the Lord,"⁵⁰ for your present sufferings are slight, while your rewards will be great; endure for a little while and you will be with the angels forever. "The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that will be revealed in us."⁵¹ He portrays for the man the kingdom of heaven, and even gives him a glimpse of the Paradise of pleasure; and the martyrs, who must present their bodily countenances to their judges, are in spirit already in Paradise, and despise what appear to be hardships.

48 The wrestling with demons refers to the various activities of the exorcists.

49 Rom. 8.26.

50 Ps. 26.14.

51 Rom. 8.18.

(21) You must know too that the Holy Spirit empowers the martyrs to bear witness. The Savior says to His disciples: "When they bring you before the synagogues and the magistrates and the authorities, do not be anxious how or where-with you shall defend yourselves, for the Holy Spirit will teach you in that hour what you ought to say."⁵² A man cannot testify as a martyr for Christ's sake except through the Holy Spirit. For if "no man can say 'Jesus is Lord,' except in the Holy Spirit,"⁵³ shall any man give his life for Jesus' sake except through the Holy Spirit?

(22) The Holy Spirit is indeed mighty, all-powerful in gifts, and wonderful. Consider how many of you sit here now, how many souls we are here present. He adapts Himself to each, and being present in our midst, He sees the dispositions of each, He sees our reasoning and our conscience, what we say, what we think, what we believe. This may seem a strong assertion, but actually it is quite weak. For just consider, enlightened in mind by Him, how many Christians there are in this whole diocese, how many in the whole province of Palestine. Again let your mind range from this province to the whole Roman Empire; then fix your gaze on the whole world; there are races of Persians, nations of Indians, Goths, Sarmatians, Moors, Libyans, Aethiopians and others whose names are unknown to us; for the names of many nations have not even reached us. Consider each nation's bishops, priests, deacons, solitaries, virgins, all the laity; contemplate their mighty Protector, the Dispenser of their gifts, how throughout the whole world He bestows on one chastity, on another perpetual virginity, inspires one to almsgiving, another to poverty, and grants to another the power of driving out evil spirits. As the light with one casting of its rays brightens everything, so too the Holy Spirit enlightens those who have eyes. For if any man because of blindness is not deemed

⁵² Luke 12.11, 12.

⁵³ 1 Cor. 12.3.

worthy of His grace, let him not blame the Spirit but his own disbelief.

(23) You have seen His power, exercised throughout the world. Tarry no longer on the earth, but mount on high. Ascend now in thought to the first heaven, and contemplate the countless myriads of angels. Rise still higher in thought, if you can; contemplate the Archangels too, behold the Spirits⁵⁴ also, the Virtues, the Principalities, the Powers, the Dominations. Set over all these by God as their Ruler, their Teacher and their Sanctifier is the Paraclete. Among men Elia has need of Him, as also Eliseus and Isaia; among angels Michael and Gabriel have need of Him. No created being is equal in honor to Him. Not all the classes of angels, not all their hosts together have equality with the Holy Spirit. The all-perfect power of the Paraclete overshadows them all. While they are sent to minister, He searches even the deep things of God, according to the Apostle: "For the Spirit searches all things, even the deep things of God. For who among men knows the things of a man save the spirit of the man which is in him? Even so, the things of God no man knows but the Spirit of God."⁵⁵

(24) He heralded Christ in the Prophets; He wrought in the Apostles; and to this day He seals souls in Baptism. The Father gives to the Son, and the Son shares with the Holy Spirit. Not I but Jesus says: "All things have been delivered to me by my Father";⁵⁶ and of the Holy Spirit He says: "When he, the Spirit of truth, has come, he will teach you all the truth," and what follows; "He will glorify me, because he will receive of what is mine and declare it to you."⁵⁷ The Father, through the Son, with the Holy Spirit, bestows all gifts. The gifts of the Father are not different from the gifts of the Son

⁵⁴ Cyril seems to count the Spirits as a distinct angelic order, though elsewhere the traditional nine choirs are named (*Myst.* 5.6).

⁵⁵ 1 Cor. 2.10, 11.

⁵⁶ Matt. 11.17.

⁵⁷ John 16.13, 14.

or those of the Holy Spirit. For there is one Salvation, one Power, one Faith. There is One God, the Father; One Lord, His Only-begotten Son; One Holy Spirit, the Advocate. It is enough for us to know this much; inquire not curiously into His nature and substance. For if it had been written, we would have spoken about it; what is not written let us not essay. It is enough for salvation for us to know that there is Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

(25) This Spirit descended upon the seventy elders in the time of Moses. (May the length of my discourse, dear brethren, not prove tedious to you. But may He of whom we discourse impart strength to everyone, to us who speak and to you who listen.) To repeat, this Spirit descended upon the seventy elders in Moses' day; my object is to prove that He knows all things and works as He will. The seventy elders were chosen: "The Lord then came down in the cloud, and taking some of the spirit that was on Moses, he bestowed it on the seventy elders";⁵⁸ not that the Spirit was divided, but His grace was divided according to the vessels and the capacity of the recipients. Now there were sixty-eight present, and they prophesied; Eldad and Medad were not present. To make it clear that it was not Moses who bestowed the gift, but the Spirit who wrought, Eldad and Medad, who had been called but had not yet presented themselves, also prophesied.

(26) Josue, the son of Nun and successor of Moses, was amazed, and coming to Moses said to him: Have you heard that Eldad and Medad are prophesying? They were called and did not come forward; "Moses, my lord, stop them."⁵⁹ I cannot forbid them, he said, for the grace is from heaven. So far am I from forbidding them that I consider it a favor. But I think you have not spoken thus in envy. Be not over-zealous on my account, because they have prophesied, and you do not yet prophesy. Await the proper time. "Would

⁵⁸ Num. 11.25.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 28.

that all the people of the Lord might prophesy, whenever the Lord shall give them his spirit.”⁶⁰ He spoke the words “whenever the Lord shall give,” prophetically. For He has not given it as yet; so you do not have it yet. Did not Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph have His spirit? Did not the men of old have it? It is clear that the words, “whenever the Lord shall give,” means “give to all”; now the grace is partial, then it shall be granted profusely. He intimated what was to come to pass among us on the day of Pentecost; for He Himself came down among us. He had come down before upon many, it is true; for it is written: “Now Josue, the son of Nun, was filled with the spirit of wisdom, since Moses had laid his hands upon him.”⁶¹ Note the same ceremonial everywhere, both in the Old and the New Testament. In Moses’ day the Spirit was given by the imposition of hands; and Peter imparted the Spirit by the imposition of hands. Upon you also, who are to be baptized, the grace will come. In what manner I do not say, for I do not anticipate the proper time.⁶²

(27) The Spirit came upon all the just and the Prophets; I mean Enos, Henoch, Noe, and the rest; upon Abraham, Isaac, Jacob. That Joseph had in him the Spirit of God even Pharaoh himself understood. You have often heard of the wondrous works wrought by the Spirit in the days of Moses. That most courageous man Job had this Spirit, and all the saints, though we do not recount all their names. The Spirit was sent in the building of the tabernacle, and filled with wisdom the wise men about Beseleel.

(28) In the power of this Spirit, as we have it in the Book of Judges, Othoniel judged, Gideon grew strong, and Jephte was victorious; Deborah, a woman, waged war; and Samson, while he acted justly and did not vex Him, performed deeds beyond man’s powers. We learn clearly in the Book of Kings

⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 29.

⁶¹ Deut. 34.9.

⁶² The latter part of this chapter seems to refer to Confirmation, and the matter treated in *Myst.* 3.

of Samuel and David, how by the Holy Spirit they prophesied and were leaders of the prophets. Samuel in fact was called the Seer. David says plainly: "The spirit of the Lord hath spoken by me";⁶³ and in the Psalms: "and your holy spirit take not from me";⁶⁴ and again: "May your good spirit guide me on level ground."⁶⁵ As we read in Paralipomenon, Azaria in the time of King Asa, and Jahaziel in the time of King Josaphat, were inspired by the Holy Spirit, and again another Azaria (Zacharia), who was stoned. Esdras says: "And thou gavest them thy good spirit to teach them."⁶⁶ Though we say nothing, it is quite clear that those inspired and wonder-working men, Elia—who was taken up—and Eliseus, were filled with the Holy Spirit.

(29) Whoever scans all the books of the Prophets, both of the Twelve and of the others, will find many testimonies regarding the Holy Spirit. Michea, for example, speaking in the person of God, says: "But as for me, I am filled with power, with the spirit of the Lord";⁶⁷ Joel cries: "Then afterward," God says, "I will pour out my spirit upon all mankind."⁶⁸ Aggai says: "For I am with you, says the Lord of hosts, and my spirit continues in your midst";⁶⁹ and Zacharia in like manner: "But yet receive my words and my decrees, which I entrusted by my spirit to my servants the prophets."⁷⁰

(30) Isaia also, that lofty-voiced herald, says: "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: a spirit of wisdom and of understanding, a spirit of counsel and of strength, a spirit of knowledge and of godliness; and he shall be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord";⁷¹ signifying that the Spirit was indeed one and indivisible, but His operations diverse; and

63 2 Kings 23.2.

64 Ps. 50.13.

65 Ps. 142.10.

66 2 Esd. 9.20.

67 Mich. 3.8.

68 Joel 3.1.

69 Agg. 2.4, 5.

70 Zach. 1.6 (Sept.).

71 Isa. 11.2, 3 (Sept.).

again: "Jacob my servant," and subsequently: "upon whom I have put my spirit";⁷² again: "I will pour out my spirit upon your offspring";⁷³ and: "Now the Lord God has sent me, and his spirit";⁷⁴ again: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord has anointed me";⁷⁵ and in the words against the Jews: "But they rebelled, and grieved his holy spirit";⁷⁶ and: "Where is he who put his holy spirit in their midst?"⁷⁷ You have also in Ezechiel—if you are not now weary of listening—what has already been quoted: "Then the spirit of the Lord fell upon me, and he told me to say: thus says the Lord."⁷⁸ The phrase "fell upon me" must be rightly understood as meaning "lovingly"; as Jacob, upon finding Joseph, "fell on his neck";⁷⁹ and as in the Gospel that loving father, when he saw his son returning from his wandering, "was moved with compassion, and ran and fell upon his neck and kissed him."⁸⁰ Again in Ezechiel: "And he brought him into Chaldea, to them of the captivity, in vision, by the spirit of God."⁸¹ You have heard other texts also in our discourses on Baptism: "I will sprinkle clean water upon you," . . . "I will give you a new heart and place a new spirit within you";⁸² and a little later: "I will put my spirit within you";⁸³ and "The hand of the Lord came upon me, and he led me out in the spirit of the Lord."⁸⁴

(31) The spirit filled with wisdom the soul of Daniel and made him, though a youth, a judge of elders. The chaste Susanna was condemned as wanton; there was no one to

72 Cf. Isa. 44.1; 42.1.

73 Isa. 44.3.

74 Isa. 48.16.

75 Isa. 61.1.

76 Isa. 63.10 (Sept.).

77 *Ibid.* 11.

78 Ezech. 11.5.

79 Gen. 46.29.

80 Luke 15.20.

81 Cf. Ezech. 11.24.

82 Ezech 36.25, 26.

83 *Ibid.* 27.

84 Ezech. 37.1.

defend her, for who was to deliver her from the rulers? She was being led away to death, and was already in the hands of the executioners. But her Helper stood by, the Advocate, the Spirit who sanctifies every rational nature. "Come hither to me," He says to Daniel; "young though you are, you must convict elders who have defiled themselves with the sign of youth." Scripture says: "The Lord raised up the holy spirit in a young boy."⁸⁵ To sum up briefly, that chaste woman was saved by the sentence of Daniel. We present this story merely as a testimony, for this is not the proper time for exposition. Even Nabuchodonosor recognized that the Holy Spirit was in Daniel, for he said to him: "Baltassar, chief of the magicians, I know that the spirit of the holy God is in you."⁸⁶ One thing he said was true and one was false. That he had the spirit was true, but he was not the chief of magicians. He was no magician, but he was wise by the Holy Spirit. Before this Daniel had interpreted for Nabuchodonosor the vision of the statue, which the king had seen but did not understand. Tell me, he said, the vision which I who saw do not understand. You see the power of the Holy Spirit; they who had seen the vision do not understand, while they who had not seen it understand and interpret it.

(32) It would be easy to gather many texts from the Old Testament, and speak more in detail about the Holy Spirit; but time is short and we must show regard for moderation in our discourse. Therefore, being content for the present with these testimonies from the Old Testament, we will go on, God willing, in the next lecture to the remaining texts from the New Testament. May the God of peace, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by the charity of the Spirit, deem all of you worthy of spiritual and heavenly blessings. To whom be glory and power forever and ever. Amen.

⁸⁵ Cf. Dan. 13.45.

⁸⁶ Dan. 4.6.

CATECHESIS XVII

On the Holy Spirit (2)

“To one through the Spirit is given the utterance of wisdom.”¹

(1) In the preceding lecture, dearly beloved, we set forth for your attention as best we could some small portion of the testimonies regarding the Holy Spirit; in the present, God willing, we shall touch upon, as far as possible, those which remain from the New Testament. We observed due measure in our last discourse, and checked our eagerness (for there is no satiety in speaking of the Holy Spirit); now too we shall use but a small fraction of the available material; we frankly confess that our weakness is overwhelmed by the mass of what is written; and we shall not employ human reasoning today, for this is unprofitable, but we shall simply present the evidence from the sacred Scriptures. That is the safest course according to the blessed Apostle Paul, who says: “Those things we also speak, not in words taught by human wisdom, but in the learning of the Spirit, combining spiritual with spiritual.”² We shall act like travelers and voyagers who have a single goal in a long journey, and hasten on eagerly, yet because of human weakness are wont to stop at various harbors and cities.

(2) Though the discourses on the Holy Spirit are divided, He Himself is undivided, being one and the same. In discoursing on the Father at one time we gave the doctrine on

1 1 Cor. 12.8.

2 1 Cor. 2.13.

His royal sovereignty, and at another how He is Father, or Almighty, and then how He is Creator of all things; yet the division of lectures implied no division of faith, since the object of devotion was and is One; in discoursing on the Only-begotten Son of God also, at one time we taught the doctrine of His Godhead, and at another His Manhood, and though we divided our teaching on our Lord Jesus Christ into many discourses, we preached undivided faith in Him; so too now, though the lectures on the Holy Spirit are divided, we preach undivided faith in Him. For it is One and the Same Spirit, who, "dividing" his gifts "to everyone according as he will,"³ yet remains Himself undivided. For the Advocate is not different from the Holy Spirit, but one and the same, though called by different names; living, subsisting, speaking and working; and the Sanctifier of all rational beings made by God through Christ, angels as well as men.

(3) To prevent some in ignorance from thinking, because of the different titles of the Holy Spirit, that these are different spirits and not one and the same (and One only); the Catholic Church has provided for your safety in the traditional confession of the faith, which commands us to "believe in one Holy Spirit, the Advocate, who spoke by the prophets"; thus you know that though His titles are many, the Holy Spirit is One. We shall now mention a few of these many titles.

(4) He is called Spirit according to the text just read: "To one through the Spirit is given the utterance of wisdom";⁴ He is called the Spirit of truth, in our Savior's words: "But when he, the Spirit of truth, has come";⁵ He is also called Advocate by the Lord: "For if I do not go, the Advocate will not come to you";⁶ that He is one and the same, though with different titles, is clear from what follows. That the Holy

³ 1 Cor. 12.11.

⁴ *Ibid.* 8.

⁵ John 16.13.

⁶ *Ibid.* 7.

Spirit and the Advocate are the same is manifest from the words: "But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit";⁷ the identity of the Advocate and the Spirit of truth, from the words: "and I will give you another Advocate to dwell with you forever, the Spirit of truth";⁸ and again: "But when the Advocate has come, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth."⁹ He is called the Spirit of God, in the words: "I saw the Spirit of God descending";¹⁰ and again: "For whoever are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."¹¹ He is also called the Spirit of the Father, as the Savior says: "For it is not you who are speaking, but the Spirit of the Father who speaks through you";¹² and Paul: "For this reason I bend my knees to the Father," and subsequently: "that he may grant you to be strengthened through his Spirit."¹³ He is called the Spirit of the Lord, as Peter said: "Why have you agreed to tempt the Spirit of the Lord?"¹⁴ He is called the Spirit of God and Christ, as Paul writes: "You, however, are not carnal but spiritual, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you. But if anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he does not belong to Christ."¹⁵ He is called also the Spirit of the Son of God, as it is said: "And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son."¹⁶ He is called also the Spirit of Christ, as it is written: "What time or circumstances the Spirit of Christ in them was signifying";¹⁷ and again: "Thanks to your prayer and the assistance of the Spirit of Jesus Christ."¹⁸

⁷ John 14.26.

⁸ *Ibid.* 16, 17.

⁹ John 15.26.

¹⁰ John 1.32.

¹¹ Rom. 8.14.

¹² Matt. 10.20.

¹³ Eph. 3.14-16.

¹⁴ Acts 5.9.

¹⁵ Rom. 8.9.

¹⁶ Gal. 4.6.

¹⁷ 1 Peter 1.11.

¹⁸ Phil. 1.19.

(5) You will find besides many other titles of the Holy Spirit. For He is called the Spirit of holiness, as it is written: "According to the Spirit of holiness."¹⁹ He is called too the Spirit of adoption, as Paul says: "Now you have not received a spirit of bondage unto fear, but you have received a spirit of adoption as sons, by virtue of which we cry: Abba! Father!"²⁰ He is called the Spirit of revelation, according to the words, that He "may grant you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in deep knowledge of him."²¹ He is called the Spirit of promise, as the same Paul says: "In him you too, when you believed, were sealed with the Holy Spirit of the promise."²² He is called the Spirit of grace, as when he says: "And has insulted the Spirit of grace."²³ He has many other such titles. You heard clearly in the preceding lecture that in the Psalms at one time He is called the good Spirit and at another the perfect Spirit;²⁴ and that in Isaia He was called the Spirit of wisdom and of understanding, and of counsel, and of fortitude, and of knowledge, and of godliness and of fear of God. From all these testimonies, mentioned before and now, it is evident that though the titles are different, the Holy Spirit is one and the same; He is living, subsisting, ever present with Father and Son; not spoken or breathed forth from the lips of Father or Son, nor diffused through the air, but really existing, Himself speaking, working, dispensing, sanctifying; as we said before, the dispensation of salvation to us, from Father, Son and Holy Spirit, is undivided, harmonious and one. I wish you to recall our recent discourse, and to realize that there is not one Spirit in the Law and Prophets and another in the Gospels and the Apostles; it is

¹⁹ Cf. Rom. 1.4.

²⁰ Cf. Rom. 8.15.

²¹ Eph. 1.17.

²² *Ibid.* 13.

²³ Heb. 10.29.

²⁴ The reference is not found in the preceding catechesis, but the lapse is understandable when one considers the mass of Old Testament testimonies quoted.

one and the same Holy Spirit, the author of the divine Scriptures in the Old and the New Testaments.

(6) This Holy Spirit came upon the holy virgin Mary. Christ, the Only-begotten, was to be born; the power of the most High overshadowed her, and the Holy Spirit, coming upon her, sanctified her to receive Him "through whom all things were made."²⁵ I need not speak at length to teach you that this generation was immaculate and undefiled, for you know this. Gabriel says to her: "I am the herald of what is to come to pass, but I have no share in it. Though I am an Archangel, I know my place. Though I announce joyful tidings to you, yet how you shall give birth rests on no grace of mine; 'The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee; and therefore the Holy One to be born shall be called the Son of God.'"²⁶

(7) This Holy Spirit wrought in Elizabeth. For He acknowledges not only virgins, but lawfully married women as well. "And Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit,"²⁷ and prophesied; the noble handmaid says of her Lord: "And how have I deserved that the mother of my Lord should come to me?"²⁸ For Elizabeth deemed herself blessed. Zachary, the father of John, was filled with the same Holy Spirit and prophesied, telling how many blessings the Only-begotten would usher in, and that John would be His forerunner through Baptism. The just man Simeon received an answer from the Holy Spirit that he would not see death before he had seen the Christ of the Lord: in the temple he received Him into his arms and bore manifest testimony concerning Him.

(8) John, filled with the Holy Spirit from his mother's womb, was sanctified for the purpose of baptizing the Lord;

²⁵ John 1.3.

²⁶ Luke 1.35.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 41.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 43.

he himself did not impart the Spirit, but preached the glad tidings of Him who does. He says: "I indeed baptize you with water, for repentance. But he who is coming after me, He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire."²⁹ Why "fire"? Because the descent of the Holy Spirit was in fiery tongues. Concerning this the Lord says with joy: "I have come to cast fire upon the earth, and what will I but that it be kindled?"³⁰

(9) The Holy Spirit descended when Christ was baptized to make sure that the dignity of Him who was baptized was not hidden, according to the words of John: "But he who sent me to baptize with water said to me, He upon whom thou wilt see the Spirit descending, and abiding upon him, he it is who baptizes with the Holy Spirit."³¹ Observe what the Gospel says: "the heavens were opened"—they were opened because of the dignity of Him who descended. "Behold," it says, "the heavens were opened, and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove and coming upon him";³² this descent, clearly, was from voluntary motion of His own.³³ It was fitting, as some have explained it, that the firstfruits and the first gifts of the Holy Spirit, who is imparted to the baptized, should be conferred on the manhood of the Savior, who bestows such grace. Perhaps, as some say, it was to reveal an image that He came down in the likeness of a pure, innocent, simple dove, working with prayers for the sons He begot and for forgiveness of sins;³⁴ just as in a veiled manner it was foretold that the beauty of Christ's eyes would be mani-

²⁹ Matt. 3.11.

³⁰ Luke 12.49.

³¹ John 1.33.

³² Matt. 3.16.

³³ Cyril seems to be emphasizing here the living, subsisting, independent personality of the Holy Spirit (cf. *Cat.* 16.14).

³⁴ The sense is not entirely clear. The suggestion has been made that the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a dove, a pure and innocent bird, to show that He was a sort of mystical dove in His simplicity, and in His love of children, for whose generation and remission of sins at the time of Baptism He cooperates with the prayers of Christ.

fested in this way. For in the Canticles she cries out and says of the bridegroom: "Your eyes are like doves beside running waters."³⁵

(10) Some have regarded the dove of Noe as prefiguring this dove.³⁶ In Noe's time salvation and the beginning of a new generation came to men through wood and water; the dove returned at evening carrying a bough of an olive tree; so the Holy Spirit, they say, descended upon the true Noe, the author of the second birth, who unites the aspirations of all nations, of whom the animals in the ark were a figure. After His coming the spiritual wolves feed with lambs, and His Church pastures calf, ox and lion together; just as we see to this day worldly rulers led and taught by churchmen. He descended then, according to some interpreters, as the spiritual dove at Christ's baptism, to show that He is the same who by the wood of the Cross saves them that believe, and who would in the evening, by His death, grant them salvation.

(11) Concerning these matters perhaps another explanation should be given; we should listen to the words of the Savior Himself regarding the Holy Spirit. For He says: "Unless a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."³⁷ Because this grace comes from the Father He says: "How much more will your heavenly Father give the good Spirit to those who ask him."³⁸ Because we must worship God in spirit He says: "But the hour is coming, and is now here, when the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth. For the Father also seeks such to worship him. God is spirit, and they who worship him must worship in spirit and in truth";³⁹ and again: "But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God," and subsequently: "There-

³⁵ Cf. Cant. 5.12.

³⁶ It was a common view among the Fathers that the dove of Noe prefigured the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove at Christ's baptism.

³⁷ John 3.5.

³⁸ Luke 11.13.

³⁹ John 4.23, 24.

fore I say to you, that every kind of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven to men; but the blasphemy against the Spirit will not be forgiven. And whoever speaks a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but whoever speaks against the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven him, either in this world or in the world to come";⁴⁰ again He says: "And I will ask the Father and he will give you another Advocate to dwell with you forever, the Spirit of truth whom the world cannot receive, because it neither sees him nor knows him. But you shall know him, because he will dwell with you, and be in you."⁴¹ Further: "These things I have spoken to you, while yet dwelling with you. But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring to your mind whatever I have said to you."⁴² Also: "But when the Advocate has come, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father, he will bear witness concerning me."⁴³ Again the Savior says: "For if I do not go, the Advocate will not come to you; but if I go I will send him to you. And when he has come, he will convict the world of sin, and of justice, and of judgment";⁴⁴ and subsequently: "Many things yet I have to say to you, but you cannot hear them now. But when he, the Spirit of truth, has come, he will teach you all the truth. For he will not speak on his own authority, but whatever he will hear he will speak, and the things that are to come he will declare to you. He will glorify me, because he will receive of what is mine, and declare it to you. All things that the Father has are mine. That is why I have said that he will receive of what is mine, and will declare it to you."⁴⁵ I have read the very words of the Only-begotten, and so you need not pay attention to the words of men.

⁴⁰ Matt. 12.28, 31, 32.

⁴¹ John 14.16, 17.

⁴² *Ibid.* 25, 26.

⁴³ John 15.26.

⁴⁴ John 16.7, 8.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 12-15.

(12) He imparted the fellowship of this Holy Spirit to the Apostles; for it is written: "When he had said that, he breathed upon them, and said to them, Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained."⁴⁶ This was the second breathing (the first had been impaired by willful sins),⁴⁷ to fulfill the Scripture: "He went up breathing upon your face, and delivering you from affliction."⁴⁸ He went up from where? From Limbo. For it was after His resurrection, according to the Gospel, that He breathed on them. He gives the grace at this time, and He will lavish it more abundantly; He says to them: I am ready to give it to you even now, but the vessel cannot yet hold it. Accept for the time the grace of which you are capable, but look forward to yet more. "But wait here in the city," of Jerusalem, "until you are clothed with power from on high."⁴⁹ Receive it in part now; then you will be clad in its fullness. For he who receives often has the gift only in part; but he who is clothed is entirely covered by his garment. Fear not, He says, the weapons and darts of the devil, for you will possess the power of the Holy Spirit. But be mindful of our recent admonition, that the Holy Spirit is not divided, but only the grace He bestows.

(13) Jesus ascended into heaven and fulfilled the promise he had made to His disciples: "I will ask the Father and he will give you another Advocate."⁵⁰ They were sitting, expecting the coming of the Holy Spirit. "And when the days of Pentecost were drawing to a close,"⁵¹ here in this city of Jerusalem (for this honor also is ours; we speak not of the blessings of others, but of those granted to us), when, there-

⁴⁶ John 20.22, 23.

⁴⁷ Cf. Gen. 2.7. The first breathing for Cyril was the creation of the soul of Adam by God's breathing upon the man formed from the slime of the earth.

⁴⁸ Nah. 2.1 (Sept.).

⁴⁹ Luke 24.49.

⁵⁰ John 14.16.

⁵¹ Acts 2.1.

fore, it was Pentecost, they were sitting and the Advocate descended from heaven, the Guardian and Sanctifier of the Church, the Director of souls, the Pilot of the storm-tossed, the Enlightener of the wandering, to preside over the combat and crown the victors.

(14) He came down to clothe with power and to baptize the Apostles. For the Lord says: "You shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days hence."⁵² The grace was not partial, but His power in all its fullness. For just as one immersed in the waters in Baptism is completely encompassed by the water, so they too were completely baptized by the Spirit. The water encompasses the body externally, but the Holy Spirit baptizes the soul perfectly within. Why do you wonder? Take an example from matter, a poor and lowly one perhaps, but useful for the simpler folk. If fire, penetrating the mass of iron, sets the whole aflame, and what was cold becomes hot, and what was black becomes bright—if the body of fire penetrates the body of iron, why do you wonder, if the Holy Spirit enters into the inmost parts of the soul?

(15) To prevent the magnitude of the surpassing gift from being unknown, a sort of heavenly trumpet sounded. For "suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a violent wind coming";⁵³ signifying the advent of Him who grants the grace to men to bear away with violence the kingdom of heaven, to see with their eyes the fiery tongues, to hear with their ears the sound. "And it filled the whole house where they were sitting."⁵⁴ The house became the receptacle of the spiritual water. The disciples were within and the whole house was filled. Therefore they were completely baptized, according to the promise. They were clothed in body and soul with a divine and saving vesture. "And there appeared to them parted tongues as of fire, which settled upon each of them.

⁵² Acts 1.5.

⁵³ Acts 2.2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.”⁵⁵ They partook not of burning but of saving fire, which consumes the thorns of sins but renders the soul radiant. This fire will come to you too, to strip away and destroy your thorn-like sins, and to make the precious possession of your souls shine yet more brightly; and He will give you grace, for He gave it then to the Apostles. He sat upon them in the form of fiery tongues, to crown them with new and spiritual diadems (by the fiery tongues on their heads). A flaming sword of old barred the gates of Paradise; a fiery tongue, bringing salvation, restored the grace.

(16) “And they began to speak in foreign tongues, even as the Holy Spirit prompted them to speak.”⁵⁶ The Galilean Peter and Andrew spoke Persian or Median. John and the other Apostles spoke all the tongues of various nations, for the thronging of multitudes of strangers from all parts is not something new in Jerusalem, but this was true in Apostolic times.⁵⁷ What teacher can be found so proficient as to teach men in a moment what they have not learned? So many years are required through grammar and other arts merely to speak Greek well; and all do not speak it equally well. The rhetorician may succeed in speaking it well, the grammarian sometimes less well; and he who is skilled in grammar is ignorant of philosophical studies. But the Holy Spirit taught them at once many languages, which they do not know in a whole lifetime. This is truly lofty wisdom, this is divine power. What a contrast between their long ignorance in the past and this sudden, comprehensive, varied and unaccustomed use of languages.

(17) The multitude of those listening was confounded; it was a second confusion, in contrast to the first evil confusion at Babylon. In that former confusion of tongues there was a

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 3, 4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 4.

⁵⁷ Before the coming of Christ the Jews flocked to Jerusalem from all Palestine and from other parts of the world; after the coming of Christ Jerusalem became a place of pilgrimage for all Christians.

division of purpose, for the intention was impious; here there was a restoration and union of minds, since the object of their zeal was pious. Through what occasioned the fall came the recovery. They wondered, saying: "How do we hear them speaking [our own tongue]?"⁵⁸ There is nothing to wonder at, if you are ignorant. For even Nicodemus was ignorant of the coming of the Spirit, and it was said to him: "The Spirit breatheth where he will; and thou hearest his voice, but thou knowest not whence he cometh, and whither he goeth."⁵⁹ If when I hear His voice I know not whence He comes, how can I explain what He is in essence?

(18) "But others said in mockery, They are full of new wine."⁶⁰ They spoke the truth indeed but in mockery. For in truth the wine was new, the grace of the New Testament. But this new wine was from a spiritual vine, which already had often borne fruit in the Prophets, and sprouted forth in the New Testament. For just as in the order of nature the vine, remaining ever the same, brings forth new fruit according to the seasons, so too the same Spirit, remaining what He is, having wrought in the Prophets, now manifested something new and marvelous. His grace had indeed been granted to the fathers aforetime, but now it came in superabundance; in their case they received a share of the Holy Spirit, now they were baptized in all fullness.

(19) But Peter, who possessed the Holy Spirit, and knew it, says: "Men of Israel, who preach Joel, but do not know the Scriptures, these men are not drunk, as you suppose.⁶¹ For they are drunk, not as you suppose, but as it is written: 'They have their fill of the prime gifts of your house; from your delightful stream you give them to drink.'⁶² They are drunk with a sober drunkenness, deadly to sin, and vivifying to the

58 Cf. Acts 2.8.

59 John 3.8 (Douay).

60 Acts 2.13.

61 *Ibid.* 15.

62 Ps. 35.9.

heart, a drunkenness quite contrary to that of the body. The latter induces forgetfulness of the known, but this imparts knowledge even of the unknown. They are drunk from drinking the wine of the spiritual vine, which says: 'I am the vine, you are the branches.'"⁶³ If you do not believe me, then understand what has been said from the time of day, for "it is the third hour of the day."⁶⁴ For He who, according to Mark, was crucified at the third hour, has now at the third hour sent His grace. For His grace is not one and the Spirit's another, but He who was then crucified and had promised, fulfilled what He had promised. But if you wish also to receive testimony, listen, he says: "But this is what was spoken through the Prophet Joel: 'And it shall come to pass in the last days, says the Lord, that I will pour forth of my Spirit.'"⁶⁵ By "pour forth," He signified a copious largess: "For not by measure does God give the Spirit. The Father loves the Son, and has given all things into his hand."⁶⁶ He has given Him the power of bestowing the grace of the All-holy Spirit on whom He will. "I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy"; and subsequently: "And moreover upon my servants and upon my handmaids in those days I will pour forth of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy."⁶⁷ The Holy Spirit is no respecter of persons; He seeks not dignities, but devotion of soul. Let neither the rich be puffed up nor the poor be downcast; only let each man prepare himself to receive the heavenly gift.

(20) We have discoursed at length today and perhaps your ears are weary, but more still remains and in truth a third lecture and more would be necessary for the doctrines concerning the Holy Spirit. But we crave your indulgence on both counts. For as the holy feast of Easter is close at hand, we have extended our discourse to you today, and we have

⁶³ John 15.5.

⁶⁴ Acts 2.15.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 16, 17.

⁶⁶ John 3.34, 35.

⁶⁷ Acts 2.18.

not been able to present all the testimonies we should find from the New Testament. For there remain many from the Acts of the Apostles, in which the grace of the Holy Spirit wrought in Peter and in all the Apostles together. There remain many also from the Catholic Epistles and from the fourteen Epistles of Paul. From these we shall attempt to cull a few, like flowers from a broad meadow, merely to call them to your minds.

(21) In the power of the Holy Spirit, by the will of Father and Son, "Peter standing up with the eleven and lifting up his voice"⁶⁸ (according to the text: "Cry out at the top of your voice, Jerusalem, herald of good news"),⁶⁹ captured in the spiritual net of his words about three thousand souls. So strong was the grace working in all the Apostles that of the Jews who had crucified Christ this huge number believed and was baptized in the name of Christ, and remained steadfast in the teachings of the Apostles and in prayer. Again, in the same power of the Holy Spirit Peter and John, as they went into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer, healed at the Gate Beautiful in the name of Jesus a man lame from his mother's womb forty years; thus were fulfilled the words of Scripture: "Then will the lame leap like a stag."⁷⁰ They took in the spiritual net of their doctrine five thousand believers at once. They confounded the misguided rulers of the people and the chief priests, not by their own wisdom, for they were unlearned and ignorant men, but by the efficacy of the Spirit; for it is written: "Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said to them. . ."⁷¹ So lavish was the grace of the Holy Spirit which the twelve Apostles wrought in all believers; thus they came to have but one heart and one soul; and the enjoyment of their goods was common to all, as the possessors piously offered the prices of their possessions, and there was

68 Cf. *ibid.* 14.

69 Isa. 40.9.

70 Isa. 35.6. For the Gate Beautiful healing, Acts 3.1-8.

71 Acts 4.8.

no one needy among them; but Ananias and Sapphira, who attempted to lie to the Holy Spirit, suffered their fitting punishment.

(22) "Now by the hands of the Apostles many signs and wonders were done among the people";⁷² the spiritual grace that enveloped the Apostles was extraordinary; though they were meek, they were an object of dread ("for of the rest no man dared join himself to them; but the people magnified them"⁷³). And "the multitude of men and women who believed in the Lord increased still more";⁷⁴ and the streets were filled with the sick, "on beds and pallets so that, when Peter passed, his shadow at least might fall on some of them."⁷⁵ "And there came also" to this holy Jerusalem "multitudes from the towns near Jerusalem bringing the sick, and those troubled with unclean spirits, and they were all cured."⁷⁶

(23) Strengthened by the Holy Spirit, the twelve Apostles, cast into prison by the chief priests for preaching Christ, and unexpectedly delivered by an angel at night, when brought from the temple to the tribunal, boldly reproached the priests in speaking of Christ. They said among other things that "God has given the Holy Spirit to all who obey him."⁷⁷ And after they had been scourged, they went forth rejoicing and they ceased not to teach and preach Christ.⁷⁸

(24) The grace of the Holy Spirit wrought not only in the twelve Apostles, but also in the first-born of this once barren Church, I mean the seven deacons.⁷⁹ They were chosen "full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom,"⁸⁰ as Scripture says; of

⁷² Acts 5.12.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 13.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 15.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 16.

⁷⁷ Cf. *ibid.* 32.

⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 42.

⁷⁹ Cyril's words seem to refer to the fact that the seven deacons were not chosen by Christ, but by the Apostles after the Ascension. Their names seem to indicate that they were converts from Hellenism.

⁸⁰ Cf. Acts 6.3.

these he who was well named Stephen, the first fruit of the martyrs, a man full of faith and the Holy Spirit, "was working great wonders and signs among the people,"⁸¹ and overcame those who disputed with him. For "they were not able to withstand the wisdom and the Spirit who spoke";⁸² when falsely accused and brought to the tribunal he shone with angelic radiance; for "all that sat in the Sanhedrin, gazing upon him, saw his face as though it were the face of an angel."⁸³ When by his wise defense he had confounded the Jews, "stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ear, who always oppose the Holy Spirit,"⁸⁴ he saw "the heavens opened," and beheld "the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God";⁸⁵ he saw Him, not by his own power, but as sacred Scripture says: "But he, being full of the Holy Spirit, looked up to heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God."⁸⁶

(25) By this power of the Holy Spirit Philip also, in the city of Samaria, cast out in Christ's name the "unclean spirits, crying with a loud voice";⁸⁷ he healed the palsied and the lame, and brought to Christ huge multitudes of believers; when Peter and John came down to Samaria, by prayer and the imposition of hands, they imparted the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, from which Simon Magus alone was justly declared an alien. On another occasion Philip was called by an angel of the Lord along the way, for the sake of that devout Ethiopian eunuch, and heard clearly from the Holy Spirit the words: "Go near, and keep close to this carriage."⁸⁸ He instructed the Ethiopian and baptized him and sent him into Ethiopia as a herald of Christ, to fulfill the Scripture: "Let Ethiopia

81 *Ibid.* 8.

82 *Ibid.* 10.

83 *Ibid.* 15.

84 Acts 7.51.

85 *Ibid.* 55.

86 *Ibid.*

87 Acts 8.7.

88 *Ibid.* 29.

extend its hands to the Lord";⁸⁹ then, carried away by an angel, Philip preached the gospel to the cities one by one.

(26) After being called by our Lord Jesus Christ, Paul also was filled with the Holy Spirit. We have a witness of this in the person of the pious Ananias, who said to Paul in Damascus: "The Lord has sent me—Jesus, who appeared to thee on thy journey—that thou mayest receive thy sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit."⁹⁰ The Holy Spirit wrought immediately, and not only changed Paul's blindness to sight, but also imparted the seal to his soul, making him a vessel of election, to carry the name of the Lord who had appeared to him before kings and the children of Israel; and He fashioned His former persecutor into a herald and a good servant, who "from Jerusalem round about as far as Illyricum completed the gospel of Christ";⁹¹ he instructed imperial Rome and extended the zeal of his preaching even to Spain, sustaining countless conflicts and performing signs and wonders. Of Paul enough for the present.

(27) By the power of the same Holy Spirit Peter also, the chief of the Apostles, and the keeper of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, healed in the name of Christ the paralytic Eneas in Lydda, which is now Diospolis; and in Joppe he raised from the dead the charitable Tabitha. Being in the upper part of the house, in an ecstasy of mind he saw the heavens opened and a vessel let down, like a linen sheet, full of beasts of many forms and kinds, and learned the clear lesson to call no man common or unclean, even though he be Greek. When sent for by Cornelius, he heard from the Holy Spirit the clear words: "Behold three men are looking for thee. Arise, therefore, go down and depart with them without any hesitation, for I have sent them."⁹² To make it manifest that even Gentile believers become partakers of the Holy Spirit—

⁸⁹ Cf. Ps. 67.32.

⁹⁰ Acts 9.17.

⁹¹ Rom. 15.19.

⁹² Acts 10.19, 20.

when Peter had come to Caesarea and was teaching the doctrines of Christ—the Scripture says of Cornelius and those with him: “While Peter was still speaking these words, the Holy Spirit came upon all who were listening to his message,” and so even “the faithful of the circumcision who had come with Peter were amazed,” and when they understood, they said: “On the Gentiles also the grace of the Holy Spirit had been poured forth.”⁹³

(28) Even as far as Antioch, that famous city of Syria, when the teaching of Christ was taking effect, Barnabas was sent to help in the good work, “a good man and full of the Holy Spirit and of faith.”⁹⁴ Contemplating a rich harvest for the Christian faith he brought Paul from Tarsus to Antioch as his coadjutor. They instructed and brought together multitudes in the Church, “and it was in Antioch that the disciples were first called Christians.”⁹⁵ The Holy Spirit, I believe, put upon the believers the new name announced beforehand by the Lord. When the grace of the Spirit was poured out by God rather abundantly at Antioch, there arose prophets and teachers, among them Agabus. “And as they were ministering to the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said, ‘Set apart for me Saul and Barnabas unto the work to which I have called them.’”⁹⁶ After the laying on of hands they were sent forth by the Holy Spirit. It is clear, as we have said, that the Spirit which speaks and sends is living, subsisting and working.

(29) This Holy Spirit, who in union with Father and Son established the New Testament in the Catholic Church, freed us from the grievous burdens of the Law; I mean those concerning things common and unclean, and meats, Sabbaths, new moons, circumcision, sprinklings and sacrifices. These regulations had been given for a time and had “a shadow of the good things to come”;⁹⁷ but with the coming of truth they

⁹³ *Ibid.* 44, 45.

⁹⁴ Acts 11.24.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 26.

⁹⁶ Acts 13.2.

⁹⁷ Heb. 10.1.

were justly withdrawn. Paul and Barnabas were sent here because of the question raised at Antioch by those who maintained that the faithful must be circumcised and observe the customs of Moses; the Apostles who were here in Jerusalem by a public letter freed the whole world from all legal and typical practices. They did not attribute the authority in such an important matter to themselves, but they sent out a decree to this effect: "For the Holy Spirit and we have decided to lay no further burden upon you but this indispensable one, that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what is strangled and from immorality."⁹⁸ They indicated clearly by what they wrote that though the decree had been written by men who were Apostles, it was from the Holy Spirit, and universal; Barnabas and Paul took this decree and confirmed it to the whole world.

(30) At this point I must crave indulgence from your love, or rather from the Spirit who dwelt in Paul, if I cannot complete my account, owing to my own weakness as well as the weariness of you, my hearers. For when shall I set forth worthily his marvelous deeds wrought in the name of Christ by the operation of the Holy Spirit? those wrought in Cyprus in the case of Elymas the magician, and at Lystra in the cure of the cripple? and in Cilicia and Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia and Macedonia, or his deeds at Philippi? I mean his preaching and the casting out of the pythonical spirit in the name of Christ; and the salvation of his jailer by baptism with all his house after the earthquake; or the events at Thessalonica, and his speech on the Areopagus in the midst of the Athenians; or his teachings at Corinth and in the whole of Achaea? How shall I describe adequately the deeds wrought by the Holy Spirit through Paul at Ephesus? where men who knew Him not came to know Him by the teaching of Paul? After Paul laid hands on them, "the Holy Spirit came upon them, and they began to speak in tongues and prophesy."⁹⁹ So strong

⁹⁸ Acts 15.28, 29.

⁹⁹ Acts 19.6.

was the grace of the Spirit in Paul that not only was health restored by his touch, but even handkerchiefs and aprons brought from his person cured diseases and drove out the evil spirits; and those "who had practiced magical arts collected their books and burnt them publicly."¹⁰⁰

(31) I pass over the miracle wrought at Troas in the case of Eutychus, who "went fast asleep and fell down from the third story to the ground and was picked up dead";¹⁰¹ he was revived by Paul. I pass over the prophecy to the presbyters of Ephesus summoned to Miletus, in which he declared: "Except that in every city the Holy Spirit warns me, saying that. . ."¹⁰² and what follows. By the words "in every city," Paul signified that the marvels performed in each city proceeded from the operation of the Holy Spirit, by the will of God and in the name of Christ, who spoke in him. By the power of the Holy Spirit Paul hastened to this holy city Jerusalem, though Agabus, inspired by the Spirit, prophesied what was to befall him; and he preached the doctrine of Christ with confidence among the people. When he had been brought to Caesarea, amid the judges' benches, at one time before Felix, at another before the governor Festus and before King Agrippa, the grace of the Holy Spirit in Paul was so powerful and of such surpassing wisdom as to cause Agrippa himself, the king of the Jews, to say: "In a short while thou wouldst persuade me to become a Christian."¹⁰³ On the island of Malta by the gift of the Holy Spirit, Paul when bitten by a viper suffered no harm, and he effected many cures of the diseased. The Holy Spirit guided him, the former persecutor, even to imperial Rome to be a herald of Christ. Paul persuaded many of the Jews dwelling there to believe in Christ, while to those who spoke against him he declared: "Well did

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 19.

¹⁰¹ Acts 20.9.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 23.

¹⁰³ Acts 26.28.

the Holy Spirit speak through Isaia the prophet to our fathers, saying . . ."¹⁰⁴ and what follows.

(32) To realize that Paul was filled with the Holy Spirit, and like him all the Apostles, and all who after them believe in Father, Son and Holy Spirit, hearken to the clear words of Paul himself: "And my speech and my preaching were not in the persuasive words of wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power";¹⁰⁵ and again: "God who also stamped us with his seal and gave us the Spirit as a pledge";¹⁰⁶ and: "He who raised Jesus Christ from the dead will also bring to life your mortal bodies because of the Spirit who dwells in you";¹⁰⁷ and again, writing to Timothy: "Guard the good trust through the Holy Spirit,"¹⁰⁸ who has been given to us.

(33) That the Holy Spirit subsists, lives, speaks and foretells I have told you repeatedly on former occasions; Paul writes clearly to Timothy: "Now the Spirit expressly says that in after times some will depart from the faith."¹⁰⁹ This we see in the divisions of former times and in our own day; so diverse and multiform are the errors of the heretics. Paul likewise says: "Which in other ages was not known to the sons of men, as now it has been revealed to his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit";¹¹⁰ and again: "Therefore, as the Holy Spirit says";¹¹¹ and: "Thus also the Holy Spirit testifies unto us";¹¹² and again he cries to the soldiers of Justice: "And take unto you the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, that is, the word of God, with all prayer and supplication";¹¹³ and: "And do not be drunk with wine, for in that is de-

¹⁰⁴ Acts 28.25, 26.

¹⁰⁵ 1 Cor. 2.4.

¹⁰⁶ 2 Cor. 2.4.

¹⁰⁷ Rom. 8.11.

¹⁰⁸ 2 Tim. 1.14.

¹⁰⁹ 1 Tim. 4.1.

¹¹⁰ Eph. 3.5.

¹¹¹ Heb. 3.7.

¹¹² Heb. 10.15.

¹¹³ Eph. 6.17, 18.

bauchery; but be filled with the Spirit, speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs";¹¹⁴ and finally: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the charity of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all."¹¹⁵

(34) From all these testimonies and from many more unmentioned, the personal, sanctifying and efficacious power of the Holy Spirit is commended to those who understand. Time would fail me if I wished to adduce the testimonies that remain concerning the Holy Spirit from the fourteen Epistles of Paul, wherein he has taught with such variety, fullness and piety. But let it rest with the power of the Holy Spirit to pardon us for our omissions (because the days are few) and to infuse in you more perfectly the knowledge of what still remains; the diligent among you may gain this knowledge from a more frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures; in fact from our present lectures and our former discourses you may have conceived a firmer faith "in One God, the Father Almighty, and in our Lord Jesus Christ, His Only-begotten Son, and in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete." The word itself and the title of "Spirit" are applied to Them in common in the Holy Scriptures, for it is said of the Father: "God is spirit,"¹¹⁶ as it is written in the Gospel according to John; and of the Son: "A spirit before our face, Christ the Lord,"¹¹⁷ as Jeremia the Prophet says; and of the Holy Spirit: "But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit,"¹¹⁸ as it has been said; yet the order of the Creed, if devoutly understood, excludes the error of Sabellius.¹¹⁹ Let us return in our discourse to what is of great moment, and profitable to you.

114 Eph. 5.18, 19.

115 2 Cor. 13.13.

116 John 4.24.

117 Cf. Lam. 4.20.

118 John 14.26.

119 In the Creed we have the Father, Son and Holy Spirit with the distinct characteristics of each Person clearly indicated to exclude any confusion of Persons.

(35) See that you never, like Simon, approach the ministers of baptism in pretence, while your heart does not seek the truth. It is our task to warn, yours to be on your guard. If you have remained firm in faith, you are blessed; if you have fallen in unbelief, cast away your unbelief from this day on, and be fully confident. For at the time of baptism, when you advance to the bishops, or priests, or deacons—for the grace is everywhere, in towns and in cities, and for the lowly and the noble, for slaves and for free; for this grace is not of men, but the gift of God through men—advance then to the minister of baptism, but as you approach do not consider the face of the man you see, but be mindful of the Holy Spirit of whom we now speak. For He is present, ready to seal your soul; and He shall give you that heavenly and divine seal at which demons tremble, as it is written: “And in him you too, when you believed, were sealed with the Holy Spirit of the promise.”¹²⁰

(36) He tests the soul; He does not cast pearls before swine. If you pretend, men will indeed baptize you, but the Spirit will not baptize you; but if you approach with faith, men will minister to you visibly, but the Holy Spirit will bestow on you what is not visible. For you are coming to an important trial, to an important levy in the space of a single hour; if you lose this hour, the ill is irremediable.¹²¹ But if you are counted worthy of the grace, your soul will be enlightened, and you will receive a power you did not possess before. You will receive arms that cause terror to evil spirits; and if you do not cast your arms away, but keep the seal upon your soul, the evil spirit will not approach; he will cower away in fear; for by the Spirit of God devils are cast out.¹²²

(37) If you believe, you will not only receive the remission

¹²⁰ Eph. 1.13.

¹²¹ Baptism is not repeated, and though the sins may later be remitted by penance, stains remain on the soul. Baptism devoutly received leaves the soul without spot or stain.

¹²² Cf. Matt. 12.28.

of your sins but you will accomplish deeds beyond the power of man. God grant that you may be worthy of the gift of prophecy! For you will receive a measure of grace according to your capacity, not according to what I say. For I may speak of humble blessings while you receive far richer; since faith is a broad enterprise. Your guardian will abide with you always. He will be concerned for you as His own soldier, for your comings and your goings, and for those plotting against you. He will grant you gifts of grace of every kind, if you do not grieve Him by sin. For it is written: "And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, in whom you were sealed for the day of redemption."¹²³ How then, dearly beloved, preserve the grace? Be prepared to receive the grace, and once you have received it, do not cast it away.

(38) May the Very God of all things, who spoke by the Holy Spirit, through the prophets, and sent Him forth upon the Apostles here in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, send Him forth now upon you also, and through Him guard us, imparting His bounty in common to all of us, so as to exhibit always the fruits of the Holy Spirit, charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, faith, mildness, chastity, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom, and with whom, together with the Holy Spirit, be glory to the Father, now and always and forever and ever. Amen.

¹²³ Eph. 4.30.

CATECHESIS XVIII

On the Words: "And in One Holy Catholic Church:
And in the Resurrection of the Flesh, and in Life Everlasting"

*"The hand of the Lord came upon me, and he led me out
in the spirit of the Lord and set me in the center of the
plain, which was now filled with bones."*¹

(1) The root of all well-doing is the hope of the resurrection. The expectation of the recompense strengthens the soul to undertake good works. Every laborer is ready to endure the toils if he foresees the reward of his toils; but when men weary themselves without return, their spirit soon fails along with their body. A soldier who expects rewards is ready for war; but no soldier serving an undiscerning king, who bestows no premiums for toils, is ready to die for him. So every soul believing in the resurrection is naturally solicitous for itself, but the unbelieving soul abandons itself to perdition. He who believes that the body is destined for resurrection is careful of his robe and does not defile it by fornication; but he who does not believe in the resurrection gives way to fornication, abusing his body as though it were not part of himself. Faith in the resurrection of the dead is a central precept and teaching of the holy Catholic Church; it is both central and essential; though denied by many, it is fully confirmed by the truth. Greeks gainsay it, Samaritans disbelieve it, heretics attack it viciously;² the denial takes many forms, the truth is uniform.

¹ Ezech. 37.1.

² Of the three classes of enemies here mentioned the Greeks accepted no scripture, the Samaritans only the Pentateuch; the heretics rejected the Old Testament though they used it in an attempt to refute the Catholics or bolster their own views.

(2) Greeks as well as Samaritans pose the following difficulties to us. The dead man, they say, is gone; he has moldered away and become food for worms. Even the worms have died; such is the decay and destruction that have overtaken the body. How is it to be raised? The shipwrecked have been devoured by fish, which in turn have themselves been devoured. Bears and lions have crushed and consumed the very bones of men who have fought with wild beasts; vultures and ravens have fed on the flesh of unburied corpses and flown all over the world. How then is the body to be reassembled? For it may be said that of the birds that have eaten them one has died in India, another in Persia, another in the land of the Goths. Yet other men have been consumed by fire; wind and rain have scattered their ashes; how are their bodies reconstituted?

(3) To you, poor weak man that you are, India is far from the land of the Goths, Spain from Persia. But to God, who holds the whole earth in the hollow of His hand, all things are near. Do not because of your own weakness charge God with impotence; rather consider His power. If the sun, minor work of God though it be, by one flashing of its beams warms the whole world, and the atmosphere which God made encompasses everything in the world, are we to think that God, the Creator of the sun and the atmosphere, is far off from the world? Suppose for example that different seeds of plants have been mixed—for the weak in faith I propose weak examples—and you hold these different seeds in one hand; now is it a difficult or an easy task for you, man though you are, to arrange the contents of your hand, and pick out the seeds according to their individual nature and group them according to their kind? If you can distinguish the contents of your hand, do you think that God cannot separate the things grasped in His hand and restore each to its proper place? Consider whether the answer “no” would not be blasphemous.

(4) Consider also the very principle of justice and reflect

within yourself. You have a variety of servants, let us say, of whom some are good, some bad. You esteem the good and you punish the bad. If you happen to be a judge, you praise the good and chastise the bad. Do you think that while justice is preserved before you, a mortal man, before God, the ever-changeless King of all, there is no just requital? To deny it would be impious. Or consider this. Many murderers have died in their beds, unpunished; where, then, is the justice of God? Oftentimes a murderer, guilty of fifty murders, is beheaded once; how will he pay the penalty for the forty-nine? If after this world there is no justice and retribution, you charge God with injustice.³ But do not wonder at the delay of the judgment. Everyone who contends for a prize is crowned or put to shame only after the contest is over; never does the presiding judge crown men while they are still contending; he waits until all the contestants have finished, intending afterwards, having sifted them, to award the prizes and the crowns. So God also, while the strife in this world goes on, assists the just only in part; but afterwards he bestows on them their rewards in all fullness.

(5) If you hold there is no resurrection, why do you condemn grave robbers? For if the body perishes completely and there is no hope of resurrection, why does the grave robber undergo punishment? You see that though you deny it with your lips you retain the indelible consciousness of the resurrection.

(6) If a tree that has been cut down blossoms again, will man, when cut down, not blossom again? If what is sown and reaped remains for the threshing floor, will man, when reaped from this world, remain no more for the threshing? The shoots of vine and of other trees, when cut off and transplanted, quicken and bear fruit. Will man, for whom all these exist, when he has fallen to earth, rise no more?

³ Cyril argues for the resurrection from the necessity of a judgment to reward and punish men according to their deserts.

To compare tasks, which is harder, to fashion from the beginning a statue which did not exist, or to recast to the same shape one which has fallen to pieces? Is God, who made us out of nothing, unable to raise us up again when we have perished? But it is because you are a Greek that you disbelieve the Scripture concerning the resurrection. Well, let us take the analogy of physical nature, and consider what happens in the world today. You sow wheat, let us say, or some other kind of grain; the seed, falling into the ground, dies and rots, becoming useless for food. But then it rises again a green herb; and that tiny seed is reborn in beauty. But wheat was made for us, for it was for our use that wheat and all seeds were created, not for their own sake. If creatures made for our service come to life again, shall we, for whom they were created, rise no more after death?

(7) It is wintertime, as you see; the trees stand as though dead; for where are the leaves of the fig tree, where are the grape clusters of the vine? But these, though lifeless in the winter, are green in the spring; and when the time comes, they have a sort of resurrection from the dead. For God, knowing your disbelief, each year effects a resurrection in these visible things, that seeing what occurs in inanimate creatures, you may believe concerning the animate rational beings. Flies and bees are often drowned in water, yet after a time revive; and there is a species of toad, which remaining motionless in the winter, bestirs itself again in the summer—for your simple thoughts simple illustrations are provided. Will not He who so miraculously restores to life irrational and insignificant creatures grant it also to us, for whose sake He made these?

(8) But the Greeks demand a resurrection of the dead still manifest. They object that the creatures mentioned do rise again, but that they had never completely moldered away. They demand an unequivocal precedent of an animal that after total decay has risen again. God knew men's unbelief,

and for this reason provided a bird called the phoenix.⁴ The phoenix, as Clement writes and many others record, alone among birds, comes into Egypt every five hundred years, and demonstrates the resurrection; not just in some out-of-the-way spot, for then the prodigy might go unreported, but in a well-known city that there might be observers of what otherwise would be incredible. This bird makes itself a coffin from frankincense, myrrh and other spices, which when the cycle of years is completed, it enters and then in public view dies and molders away. Then from the decayed flesh of the phoenix a worm is generated, which, when it becomes large, is transformed into a bird. (Do not disbelieve this, for you see the young of bees formed in the same way out of worms; and from liquid eggs you yourselves have seen emerge birds' wings, bones and sinews.) Subsequently this transformed phoenix grows wings and becomes a perfect phoenix, just like the original one, and flies up into the air, rising as publicly as it had died. The phoenix is a wonderful bird, but irrational, and it never sang psalms to God. It flies through the air but does not know who is the Only-begotten Son of God. If resurrection from the dead has been granted to this irrational creature that knows not its Maker, will not a resurrection be granted to us, who praise God and keep His commandments?

(9) But since the sign of the phoenix is a remote and rare occurrence, and still men disbelieve, here is a proof from everyday experience. Where were we, all of us, speakers and hearers alike, one or two hundred years ago? Don't we know the original formation of our bodies? Do we not know that it is from weak, formless, simple elements we were

⁴ It is amazing that the early Christians accepted so readily such a tale as that of the phoenix. Clement tells the story, in his *First Epistle to the Corinthians* 25, and many of the Fathers seem to have believed it (cf. Ambrose, *On his Brother Satyrus* 2.59). Herodotus first tells the legend in detail; Ovid, Pliny, Tacitus and others repeat the ancient account. The "well-known city" is Heliopolis. For references and further discussion, see Sr. Mary Francis McDonald, O.P., in her introduction to Lactantius' poem *The Phoenix* (in this series, Vol. 54, pp. 207-211).

generated, and that living man is formed from what is weak and simple? And that this weak principle, being made flesh, is transformed into strong sinews, bright eyes, sensitive nose, hearing ears, speaking tongue, beating heart, busy hands, running feet, and into members of all kinds? And that weak principle becomes a shipwright, a builder, an architect, a craftsman of every art, a soldier, a ruler a lawgiver, a king. Cannot God, who has made us of imperfect materials, raise us up when we have decayed? Cannot He, who formed the most insignificant thing into a body, raise up the body again when it dies? Will not He, who made what was not, raise up what is, after it has fallen?

(10) There is another manifest proof of the resurrection of the dead to be seen each month in the sky and the celestial bodies. The body of the moon suffers total eclipse, and not even a trace of it is any longer visible; then it is filled out again and restored to what it was before. For a perfect demonstration of our point, the moon, after certain revolutions of years, suffers eclipse and is apparently turned into blood; yet it recovers its luminous body. God has brought this about to prevent you, a man formed of blood, from disbelieving in the resurrection of the dead; rather should you believe of yourself what you see in the moon. Make use of these arguments, therefore, against the Greeks; for with those who do not accept the Scriptures you must contend, not with arms taken from Scripture, but with rational demonstrations only; for they do not know who Moses is, or Isaia, or the Gospels, or Paul.⁵

(11) Come now to the Samaritans, who accept the Law but do not admit the Prophets; thus the passage just read from Ezechiel seems to them of no weight, as they do not accept the Prophets. How can we convince the Samaritans? Let us go to the writings of the Law. Now God says to Moses:

⁵ The argumentation is naive if not bizarre and belongs in the same category as the story of the phoenix. It is hard to believe that the Greeks would have been impressed.

"I am God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob";⁶ that is, clearly, of those who live and have substantial being. For if Abraham, Isaac and Jacob have ceased completely to be, then God is God of those who are not. When did a king ever boast of a paper army or any man make a show of nonexistent wealth? Therefore, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob must exist for God to be the God of things that are. For He did not say, "I was their God," but, "I am their God." That there is a judgment is clear from what Abraham says to the Lord: "He who is judge of all the world, shall he not exercise judgment?"⁷

(12) The senseless Samaritans, however, object that it is possible that the souls of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob still survive, but their bodies cannot rise. If of old it was possible for the rod of the just Moses to become a serpent, is it impossible for the bodies of the just to revive and rise again? The transformation of the rod was above nature: will not the just be restored according to nature? The rod of Aaron also, cut off and dead, budded without scent of waters and, though under a roof as it was, blossomed as if in the fields. Though lying in dry places, it brought forth in one night the flowers and fruits of plants like those which have been watered for years. If the rod of Aaron rose, you might say, from the dead, is Aaron himself not to rise again? If God worked a miracle in wood to preserve for him the high priesthood, will He not grant Aaron himself resurrection? A woman too, against the laws of nature, was turned into salt—flesh was transformed into salt—shall not flesh be made flesh again? If Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt, will not the wife of Abraham rise again? By what power was the hand of Moses transformed, which in the space of one hour was made as snow and again restored? Surely by the command of God. Is His command, efficacious then, powerless now?

(13) What, you silly Samaritans, was man's first origin? Go

⁶ Cf. Exod. 3.6.

⁷ Cf. Gen. 18.25.

to the first book of the Scripture, which even you accept. "God formed man out of the dust of the ground."⁸ What? Is dust transformed into flesh, but flesh not made flesh again? We must ask you also, whence arose the heavens, the earth and the seas? Whence came the sun, the moon and the stars? How did things that fly and swim come from the waters? How did all the beasts come from the earth, of whom so many thousands were brought from nothingness into being? Shall we men, who bear God's image, not be raised again? Surely such a stand manifests complete unbelief, and broad condemnation falls upon the unbelievers: when Abraham calls upon God as "the judge of all the earth" and the learners of the Law disbelieve it; and when it is written that man is of earth, and the readers disbelieve it.

(14) These arguments, then, are for unbelievers, but those from the Prophets are for us who believe. But since even some who make use of the Prophets do not believe what is written and cite against us the text, "The wicked shall not rise again to be judged,"⁹ and also, "He who goes down to the nether world shall come up no more,"¹⁰ and "The dead shall not praise thee, O Lord"¹¹ (for they pervert what is well written), it would be best to answer them in passing, so far as it is now possible. For if it is said, "The wicked shall not rise to be judged," the meaning is that they shall rise, though not to be judged, but to be sentenced. For God needs no lengthy scrutiny, but as soon as the wicked rise again, their punishment forthwith follows. If it is said, "The dead shall not praise thee, O Lord," this indicates that since in this life only is the appointed time for repentance and pardon, for which those who enjoy it "shall praise thee," it is no longer possible for those who have died in sin to offer praise, as having been blessed, but only to grieve for themselves; for

⁸ Gen. 2.7.

⁹ Cf. Ps. 1.5.

¹⁰ Job 7.9.

¹¹ Ps. 113.17 (Douay).

praise belongs to those who give thanks, but lamentation to those who are punished. Therefore, while the just will then offer praise, those who have died in sin will have no further season for confessing God's goodness.¹²

(15) As regards the text, "He who goes down to the nether world shall come up no more," notice how it goes on: "He shall come up no more. He shall not again return to his house."¹³ Since the whole world is to pass away and every house to be destroyed, how will he return to his house when another world has come into being? They ought to hear Job saying: "For a tree there is hope, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again and that its tender shoots will not cease. Even though its root grow old in the earth, and its stump die in the dust, yet at the first whiff of water it may flourish and put forth branches like a young plant. But man when he shall be dead, is gone; but when mortal man is fallen, is he no more?"¹⁴ He is almost reproaching or censuring (for the words "is he no more" should be read thus as a question). Since a tree falls and rises again, he says, shall not man, for whom the trees were made, rise again? To prevent your thinking that I am forcing the passage, read what follows. After saying by way of question, "but when mortal man is fallen, is he no more?" it says: "For if a man die, he shall live again,"¹⁵ and immediately adds: "I wait until I shall be made again";¹⁶ and again elsewhere: "Who shall raise upon the earth my skin, which endures these things?"¹⁷ And the Prophet Isaia says: "But your dead shall live, their corpses shall rise."¹⁸ But the Prophet Ezechiel, now before us, is explicit: "I will open your graves and have you rise from

12 Cf. note 2; in this chapter and the next Cyril is arguing against heretics.

13 Job 7.10.

14 Job 14.7-10 (Sept.).

15 *Ibid.* 14.

16 *Ibid.* (Sept.).

17 Job 19.25, 26 (Sept.).

18 Isa. 26.19.

them.”¹⁹ So Daniel says: “Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall wake; some shall live forever, others shall be an everlasting disgrace.”²⁰

(16) Many Scriptures bear witness to the resurrection of the dead; for there are many further statements about it. Now, however, just as a reminder, we mention in passing the raising of Lazarus after four days, and merely refer, for brevity's sake, to the raising of the widow's son. Let me mention in passing also the ruler's daughter, and how the rocks were rent, the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep arose. But above all let it be remembered that Christ arose from the dead. I have passed over Elia and the widow's son whom he raised, and Eliseus, who twice raised from the dead, once while he was living and once after his death. When alive, he wrought the resurrection through his soul. But not only to honor the souls of the just, but also to instill faith in the power inherent in the bodies of the just, when the corpse cast into the sepulchre of Eliseus touched the dead body of the Prophet, it came back to life. The dead body of the Prophet performed the function of the soul, and his buried corpse quickened the dead, itself, after imparting life, remaining among the dead. Why? Because if Eliseus had arisen, the deed would have been ascribed to his soul alone, and to show that even in the absence of the soul there is a mysterious power in the body of the saints, because of the just soul which dwelt in it so many years and used its ministry. Let us not foolishly disbelieve, as though this had not happened; for if the application to the sick of handkerchiefs and aprons, mere appurtenances of the body, raised them up, how much more should the Prophet's actual body raise the dead.

(17) On this subject we might speak at length, describing in detail each of the miracles. Because of your having come to today's lecture already tired from the prolonged fast of

¹⁹ Ezech. 37.12.

²⁰ Cf. Dan. 12.2.

preparation and from the vigils,²¹ let this cursory mention suffice for the present; we have sown, we may say, a few seeds; may you receive them like rich soil, and increase and bring forth fruit. Remember that the Apostles also raised the dead; Peter raised Tabitha at Joppe, and Paul raised Eutychus at Troas; so did all the rest of the Apostles, though not all the wonders wrought by each have been recorded. Be mindful too of the whole argument of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which Paul wrote against those who said: "How do the dead rise? or with what kind of body do they come?"²² Paul says: "If the dead do not rise, neither has Christ risen";²³ and he called them senseless who did not believe. Remember all his teaching there concerning the resurrection of the dead; and how he wrote to the Thessalonians: "And we would not, brethren, have you ignorant concerning those who are asleep, lest you grieve, even as others who have no hope," and all that follows, especially the words: "And the dead in Christ will rise up first."²⁴

(18) Note particularly how Paul, all but pointing the finger, says: "For this corruptible body must put on incorruption, and this mortal body must put on immortality."²⁵ For this body shall be raised, not in its present weakness; it shall be raised the very same body, but by putting on incorruption, it shall be transformed, just as iron becomes fire when combined with fire, or rather as the Lord, who raises us, knows. This body, therefore, shall rise, but it will not abide in its present condition, but as an eternal body. No longer will it, as now, need nourishment for life, nor stairs for its ascent, for it will become spiritual, a marvelous thing, beggaring description. "Then shall the just," it is said, "shine forth like the sun and the moon, and like the splendor of the

²¹ The prolonged fast would last at least two days, probably longer.

²² 1 Cor. 15.35.

²³ *Ibid.* 16.

²⁴ 1 Thess. 4.13, 17.

²⁵ 1 Cor. 15.53.

firmament.”²⁶ God, foreknowing men’s unbelief, has given to the smallest worms to emit from their bodies beams of light in the summer, that natural fluorescence might be a parable of what we expect. For He who gives in part can also give wholly; and He who makes the worm shine luminously will much more illumine the just man.

(19) Therefore we shall rise again, all with eternal bodies, though not all with like bodies. A just man will receive a heavenly body, to dwell worthily with the angels, whereas the sinner will receive an eternal body, and so never be consumed, though it burn eternally in fire. Justly does God make this dispensation of both classes, for nothing is done without the body. We blaspheme with the mouth, with the mouth we pray. We commit fornication through the body, and through the body we preserve our purity. We rob by the hand, by the hand we give alms, and so forth. Since the body has ministered to us in everything, it will share our lot hereafter.

(20) Therefore, brethren, let us be careful of our bodies, and not abuse them as though they were not our own. Let us not say, like the heretics, that the vesture of the body does not belong to us, but let us be concerned for it as our very own. For we must render an account to God of everything we have done through the body. Do not say “No one sees me,” or think that there is no witness of your deeds; for though there is no human witness, He who fashioned us, an infallible witness, remains faithful in heaven and sees what is done. Moreover the stains of sin remain in the body. For just as when a wound has pierced the body, and though some healing is applied the scar remains, so also sin wounds both soul and body, traces of the scars remaining in both, only to be removed by the reception of Baptism. God heals the past wounds of soul and body by Baptism; but against future wounds let us all henceforth secure ourselves, and so keep

²⁶ Cyril combines Matt. 13.43 and Daniel 12.3 and adds something of his own.

pure the vesture of the body. Let us not by fornication, wantonness or any other sins of short duration lose the salvation of heaven, that we may inherit the eternal kingdom of God, which may He, by His grace, vouchsafe to all of you.

(21) Let these remarks suffice for the proof of the resurrection of the dead. And now, as I repeat for you the profession of faith, pronounce the words carefully, and commit it to memory.²⁷

* * * * *

(22) The Creed which we repeat contains in order the following: "And in one Baptism of repentance unto the remission of sins; and in one Holy Catholic Church; and in the resurrection of the flesh; and in life everlasting." Of Baptism and repentance we have spoken in earlier lectures; our present discourse concerning the resurrection of the dead treats of the article, "In the resurrection of the flesh." Let me complete what remains to be said, dealing with the article, "And in one Holy Catholic Church," regarding which, though there is much to be said, we will discourse but briefly.

(23) The Church is called Catholic because it is spread throughout the world, from end to end of the earth; also because it teaches universally and completely all the doctrines which man should know concerning things visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly; and because it subjects to right worship all mankind, rulers and ruled, lettered and unlettered; further because it treats and heals universally every sort of sin committed by soul and body, and it possesses in itself every conceivable virtue, whether in deeds, words or in spiritual gifts of every kind.

(24) Well is the Church named *Ecclesia* [assembly], because it calls forth and assembles all men, as the Lord says in Leviticus: "Then assemble the whole community at the en-

²⁷ At the end of chapter 21 Cyril presumably recited the whole creed and the candidates for Baptism repeated it.

trance of the Meeting Tent.”²⁸ It is worthy of note that this world “assemble” is used in the Scriptures for the first time in the passage when the Lord established Aaron in the high priesthood. In Deuteronomy God says to Moses: “Assemble the people for me; I will have them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me.”²⁹ He mentions the name of the Church again when He says of the tablets: “And on them were inscribed all the words that the Lord spoke to you on the mountain from the midst of the fire on the day of the assembly”;³⁰ as if He would say more plainly, “on the day on which you were called and gathered together.” And the Psalmist says: “I will give you thanks in a great church [*ecclesia*], in the mighty throng I will praise you.”³¹

(25) The Psalmist of old had sung: “In the churches bless God; bless the Lord, you of Israel’s wellspring.”³² But since the Jews for their plots against the Savior were cast down from grace, the Savior built out of the Gentiles a second holy Church, the Church of us Christians, concerning which He said to Peter: “And upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”³³ Prophesying of both these Churches, David said plainly of the first, which was rejected: “I hate the assembly of the evildoers”;³⁴ and of the second, which is built up, he says in the same psalm: “O Lord, I have loved the beauty of your house”;³⁵ and immediately thereafter: “In the assemblies I will bless thee, O Lord.”³⁶ For after the rejection of the first Church in Judea, the Churches of Christ are multiplied throughout

²⁸ Lev. 8.3. The word used for church in Latin and Greek is *ecclesia*, which etymologically means a calling out, and suggests the idea of people summoned to a public assembly. An ordinary translation for *ecclesia* is “assembly.”

²⁹ Deut. 4.10.

³⁰ Cf. Deut. 9.10.

³¹ Cf. Ps. 34.18.

³² Cf. Ps. 67.27.

³³ Matt. 16.18.

³⁴ Ps. 25.5.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 8.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 12.

the whole world, and of them it is said in the Psalms: "Sing to the Lord a new song of praise in the assembly of the faithful."³⁷ In keeping with this the Prophet also said to the Jews: "I have no pleasure in you, says the Lord of hosts," and he immediately adds: "For from the rising of the sun, even to its setting, my name is great among the nations."³⁸ It is of this holy Catholic Church that Paul writes to Timothy: "That thou mayest know how to conduct thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and mainstay of the truth."³⁹

(26) But the word *Ecclesia* [Church, assembly] has several different applications—for example, to the multitude in the theatre of the Ephesians, "And with these words he dismissed the assembly";⁴⁰ and one might properly and truly say that there is a "church [assembly] of the malignant" (I mean the meetings of the heretics, the Marcionists, the Manichaeans and the rest). For this reason the Faith has delivered to you for your security the article, "And in one holy Catholic Church," to teach you to avoid their abominable meetings, and hold fast always to the holy Catholic Church, in which you were reborn. If ever you sojourn in the cities, do not ask simply where the Lord's house is (for the sects of the impious also dare to call their haunts houses of the Lord) nor merely where the Church is, but where the Catholic Church is. For this is the distinctive name of this holy Church, the mother of us all, and the spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God (for it is written: "As Christ also loved the Church, and delivered himself up for her,"⁴¹ and all that follows); and it is the figure and copy of the Jerusalem above, which is free and the mother of us all; barren before, it now has many children.⁴²

³⁷ Ps. 149.1.

³⁸ Mal. 1.10, 11.

³⁹ 1 Tim. 3.15.

⁴⁰ Acts 19.40.

⁴¹ Eph. 5.25.

⁴² Cf. Gal. 4.26, 27.

(27) After the rejection of the first Church, in the second, the Catholic Church, God, as Paul says, "has placed first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers; after that miracles, then gifts of healing, services of help, power of administration, and the speaking of various tongues,"⁴³ and every kind of excellence, such as wisdom and understanding, temperance and justice, mercy and loving-kindness, and invincible patience in persecutions. And she, "with the armor of justice on the right hand and on the left, in honor and dishonor,"⁴⁴ in former times in persecutions and afflictions crowned the holy martyrs with divers flowery diadems of endurance; but now in times of peace, by the grace of God, she receives honors from kings and dignitaries, and from every rank and race. While kings of the various nations have limits to their power, the holy Catholic Church alone has unlimited power throughout the whole world. For God has placed peace as her border, as it is written.⁴⁵ If I wished to speak fully concerning her, my discourse would require many more hours.

(28) Instructed in this holy Catholic Church and conducting ourselves rightly, we shall gain the kingdom of heaven and inherit life everlasting; it is to receive this from the Lord that we endure all things. For it is no trifling goal we strive for, but eternal life. Therefore, in the Creed, after the article, "and in the resurrection of the flesh," that is, of the dead, of which we have discoursed, we are taught to believe, "and in life everlasting," the prize of the Christian contest.

(29) The real and true life, then, is the Father, who through the Son in the Holy Spirit pours forth upon all as from a fountain His heavenly gifts; and of His love towards men He promises to us also the blessings of eternal life. We should not think that this is impossible, but rather believe, looking not to our own weakness, but to His power, for "with God all

⁴³ 1 Cor. 12.28.

⁴⁴ 2 Cor. 6.7, 8.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ps. 147.14.

things are possible."⁴⁶ That it is possible, and that we may look for eternal life, Daniel confirms, saying: "And of the many just, like the stars forever."⁴⁷ And Paul says: "And so we shall ever be with the Lord";⁴⁸ for the words, "ever be with the Lord" signify life everlasting. The Savior also says plainly in the Gospels: "And these will go into everlasting punishment, but the just into everlasting life."⁴⁹

(30) There are many proofs of life everlasting. For us who desire to possess it, the Sacred Scriptures propose the ways to achieve it. Of these we shall now adduce only a few testimonies because of the length of our discourse; the rest we shall leave for the diligent to discover. The Scriptures say that at times life everlasting is gained by faith, for it is written: "He who believes in the Son has everlasting life,"⁵⁰ and again He Himself says: "Amen, amen, I say to you, he who hears my word, and believes him who sent me, has life everlasting."⁵¹ At another time it is by the preaching of the Gospel, for He says: "And he who reaps receives a wage, and gathers fruit unto life everlasting."⁵² At another time it is by martyrdom and confession of Christ, for He says: "And he who hates his life in this world, keeps it unto life everlasting."⁵³ And it is by putting Christ above riches and kindred: "And everyone who has left brothers, or sisters," and what follows, "shall possess life everlasting."⁵⁴ It is also by the observance of the commandments, "Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill,"⁵⁵ and so forth, as He answered the man who came to Him, saying: "Good Master, what shall I do to gain eternal

46 Matt. 10.26.

47 Dan. 12.3 (Sept.).

48 1 Thess. 4.17.

49 Matt. 25.46.

50 John 3.36.

51 John 5.24.

52 John 4.36.

53 John 12.25.

54 Matt. 19.29.

55 *Ibid.* 18.

life?"⁵⁶ Further, it is by shunning wicked deeds and serving God for the future, for Paul says: "But now set free from sin and become slaves to God, you have your fruit unto sanctification, and as your end, life everlasting."⁵⁷

(31) There are many other ways, too numerous to mention, of finding life everlasting. For God in his loving-kindness has opened up not one, or two, but many doors that lead into life everlasting, to enable all, so far as it rests with Him, to enjoy it without hindrance. We have said enough for the present about life everlasting; it is the last doctrine we profess in the Creed, and its conclusion. God grant that all of us, both teachers and hearers, may enjoy it.

* * * * *

(32) My final words, beloved brethren, in this instruction, will be words of exhortation, urging all of you to prepare your souls for the reception of the heavenly gifts. On the holy and Apostolic Faith handed down to you to profess, we have by the grace of God delivered as many lectures as possible in these past days of Lent; not that we have said all that might be said, for much has been omitted; and perhaps it has been more logically developed by better teachers. But when the holy day of Easter dawns, and your love of Christ is enlightened by the water of regeneration, you will, God willing, receive the further necessary instruction.⁵⁸ I mean with what devotion and order you must come forward when summoned; for what purpose each of the holy mysteries of Baptism is performed; with what reverence and order you must proceed from Baptism to God's holy altar, and there enjoy its spiritual and heavenly mysteries; so your soul, enlightened beforehand

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 16.

⁵⁷ Rom. 6.22.

⁵⁸ In this chapter and the next there are references to supplementary lectures. In the catechetical lectures before baptism it would have been forbidden to reveal the mysteries to the candidates for baptism, and besides they were not prepared for them.

by instructive discourse, may discover in detail the magnitude of the gifts imparted to you by God.

(33) After Easter's holy day of salvation, you will come every day, starting Monday, immediately after the assembly into the holy place of the Resurrection, where, God willing, you will hear other lectures. In these you will be instructed again in the reasons for everything that has been done, reasons warranted by proofs from the Old and the New Testaments; first concerning what is done immediately before Baptism; then how you were cleansed by the Lord "in the bath of water by means of the word";⁵⁹ how like priests you have become partakers of the name of Christ; and how the seal of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit has been given to you. You will be instructed concerning the mysteries at the altar of the New Testament, those mysteries first instituted here in Jerusalem. You will hear what the Sacred Scriptures have delivered to us, and of the efficacy of these mysteries; how you must approach them, when and how to receive them; and last of all, how you must behave in word and deed worthily of the grace received, that all of you may be able to enjoy life everlasting. These points will, God willing, be the burden of our talks.

(34) "For the rest, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord always; again I say, rejoice,"⁶⁰ "because your redemption is at hand,"⁶¹ and the heavenly host of the angels is looking forward to your salvation. Already you can hear "the voice of one crying in the desert, Make ready the way of the Lord."⁶² The Prophet cries: "All you who are thirsty, come to the water!" and then: "Heed me, and you shall eat well, you shall delight in rich fare."⁶³ Soon you will hear read that fine passage: "Be enlightened, be enlightened, O new Jerusalem! Your light has come."⁶⁴ It is of this Jerusalem that the Prophet said: "After

⁵⁹ Eph. 5.26.

⁶⁰ Phil. 3.4; 4.4.

⁶¹ Luke 21.28.

⁶² Matt. 3.3.

⁶³ Isa. 55.1.

⁶⁴ Cf. Isa. 60.1.

that you shall be called city of justice, faithful city, Sion,"⁶⁵ "for from Sion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem";⁶⁶ from here it poured out like rain upon the whole world. To Jerusalem the Prophet speaks of you: "Lift up your eyes round about, and see your children gathered together";⁶⁷ and she answers, saying: "Who are these that fly as clouds, and as doves with their young over me?"⁶⁸ She says "clouds," because of their spiritual nature, and "doves," because of their innocence. Again: "Who ever heard of such a thing, or saw the like? Can a country be brought forth in one day, or a nation be born in a single moment? Yet Sion is scarcely in labor when she gives birth to her children."⁶⁹ All things shall be filled with ineffable joy, because of the Lord who said: "I will rejoice in Jerusalem and exult in my people."⁷⁰

(35) Of you also may it be said in that hour: "Sing out, O heavens, rejoice, O earth," "for the Lord comforts his people, and shows mercy to his afflicted."⁷¹ All this will come to pass through the loving-kindness of God, who says to you: "I have brushed away your offenses like a cloud, your sins like a mist."⁷² You have been accounted worthy of the name of faithful—of whom it is written: "My servants shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon the earth"⁷³—and you will say with gladness: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with every spiritual blessing on high in Christ. In him we have redemption through his blood, the remission of sins, according to the riches of his grace. This grace has abounded beyond

⁶⁵ Cf. Isa. 1.26, 27.

⁶⁶ Isa. 2.3.

⁶⁷ Cf. Isa. 49.18.

⁶⁸ Cf. Isa. 60.8 (Sept.).

⁶⁹ Isa. 66.8.

⁷⁰ Isa. 65.18.

⁷¹ Cf. Isa. 49.13.

⁷² Isa. 44.22.

⁷³ Isa. 65.15, 16 (Sept.).

measure in us";⁷⁴ and again: "But God, who is rich in mercy, by reason of his very great love wherewith he has loved us even when we were dead by reason of our sins, brought us to life together with Christ."⁷⁵ In this strain praise the Lord, the Author of blessings, saying: "But when the goodness and kindness of God our Savior appeared, then not by reason of good works that we did ourselves, but according to his mercy, he saved us through the bath of regeneration and renewal by the Holy Spirit; whom he has abundantly poured out upon us through Jesus Christ our Savior, in order that, justified by his grace, we may be heirs in the hope of life everlasting."⁷⁶ May God Himself and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, "grant you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in deep knowledge of him: the eyes of your mind being enlightened";⁷⁷ and may He keep you ever in good works and words and thoughts; to whom be glory, honor, and power through our Lord Jesus Christ, with Holy Spirit, now and ever, and all the infinite ages of eternity. Amen.

⁷⁴ Eph. 1.3, 7, 8.

⁷⁵ Eph. 2.4, 5.

⁷⁶ Titus 3.4-7.

⁷⁷ Eph. 1.17, 18.

INTRODUCTION

Authorship and Text



THE FIVE MYSTAGOGICAL (OR EASTER) LECTURES were delivered in Jerusalem, in the Church of the Resurrection (*Myst.* 2.4, 7), during Easter Week (*Cat.* 18.33; *Peregrinatio* 47).¹

*Authorship*²

Before W. J. Swaans's article in *Le Muséon* in 1942 the Cyrilline authorship of the Easter Lectures was in this century rarely challenged. It had not, however, always been so, and the case for Cyril's authorship has always rested on thin ice. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Cyrilline authorship was strongly contested by E. Aubertin and others. What later encouraged the belief in Cyril's authorship was the (unforeseen) result of Touttée's new departure (1720) in numbering the two series of *Catecheses* consecutively 1-23. This

1 However, for the fragility of the arguments that connect these lectures with Jerusalem, see Supplementary Note below, p. 150.—*Peregrinatio sive Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. E. Franceschini and R. Weber, *Corpus christianorum: Series latina* 175 (Turnhout 1965) 88f.

2 F. L. Cross, pp. xxxvi-xxxix; W. Telfer, pp. 39-40; T. Schermann, reviewing J. P. Bock, *Die Brotbitte*, in *Theologische Revue* 10 (1911) 575-579; reply by S. Salaville, "Une question de critique littéraire: Les Catéchèses Mystagogiques de S. Cyrille," *Echos d'Orient* 17 (1915) 531-537; W. J. Swaans, "A propos des 'Catéchèses Mystagogiques' attribuées à S. Cyrille de Jérusalem," *Le Muséon* 55 (1942) 1-43; E. Bihain, "Une vie arménienne de S. Cyrille de Jérusalem," *Le Muséon* 76 (1963) 319-348, esp. 340 n. 73; A. Piédagnel, pp. 18-40; A. A. Touttée, PG 33.136-142 (Diss. 2, ch. 3). G. Garitte, I believe, pioneered the research in the Armenian field. A. Renoux, "Les Catéchèses Mystagogiques dans l'organisation liturgique Hiérosolymitaine du IV^e et V^e siècle," *Le Muséon* 78 (1964) 355-359.

gave the impression that the two series were a single work, and since the first series of eighteen was clearly Cyril's, it seemed that the second series must be his too. Actually, however, in all the manuscripts the numbering begins anew with the *Mystagogical Lectures*. This changes the picture; the *independent* evidence, manuscript and other, for the Cyrilline authorship of the *Mystagogiae* is weak. Again, the significance of the alleged cross-references between the two series and of the promise in *Cat.* 18.33 of six (*sic*) Easter Lectures is altered when it is appreciated that the general pattern of catechizing at Jerusalem was to some extent constant and survived Cyril, so that both series of lectures continued to be given by someone every year.

Several liturgical elements in the Fifth Lecture probably suggest a date in the period 380-410. Here, however, the separation of the *Mystagogiae* from the Lenten Lectures favours Cyril, who could then have delivered these Easter Lectures any year in the period 350-386. A more important objection to the Cyrilline authorship is the marked differences between the two series' expositions of Baptism and Chrismation (Confirmation), discussed below, though the last sentence of *Cat.* 16.26 provides a bridge between them in one important point. Again (cf. the advertisement "To the Reader," with note 47, vol. 1, pp. 84-85), the *Mystagogiae* would not have been available to *phōtizomenoi*.

But the nearly decisive evidence is that of the manuscripts. In his recent valuable discussion of the question, Auguste Piédagnel, who cannot decide between Cyril and John (see below), puts the case sympathetically towards Cyril when he observes³ that only one Greek manuscript, *Monac. gr.* 394, ascribes the *Mystagogiae* to John alone, and of the four manuscripts (*Vatic. Ottob.* 86 and 446, *Monac. gr.* 278 and *Vaticanus gr.* 602) which ascribe them to "Cyril and John," the last three depend upon *Ottob.* 86. The decisive facts, however, are the

³ P. 37.

following.⁴ In by no means all of the manuscripts are the Lenten Lectures followed by the *Mystagogiae*, and often, where they are so followed, the latter have no author assigned; identity of authorship has simply been assumed by modern scholars. Of the seven Greek manuscripts earlier than 1200 in which the *Mystagogiae* are included, the tenth-century *Monac. gr.* 394 twice attributes them to John (i.e., presumably Cyril's successor, John II, bishop of Jerusalem 387-417), in *Ottob.* 86 Cyril's name has been inserted before that of John, and the other five do not name the author of the *Mystagogiae*. Since the names of famous ancient theologians act like a magnet upon works of unknown authorship (catechetical lectures and works of a Jerusalem provenance naturally gravitating towards Cyril), it seems pretty clear what has happened: Cyril's name was first joined to John's and then supplanted it. Again, the Arabic codex *Sinait.* 309, which Bihain has dated to 909 (Piédagnel, however, thinks it is related to *Monac.* 394), attributes the *Mystagogiae* to John alone. The Syro-Palestinian version of the Lenten Lectures apparently knows nothing of Cyrilline *Mystagogiae*. The only works of Cyril known to the intelligent monk Alexander, who wrote of Cyril's life before 614,⁵ were the Lenten Lectures and the Letter to Constantius. Neither the Armenian version of the Lenten Lectures nor the tradition of the Armenian Church shows any knowledge of Cyrilline *Mystagogiae*, even though, as we know from the Old Armenian Lectionary, the Armenian Church had a program of Easter mystagogical lecturing. Also significant is the comparatively late external attribution of the *Mystagogiae* to Cyril, the earliest witness being Eustratius ca. 600.

The internal evidence is, taken as a whole, hardly less decisive against identity of authorship. All scholars have recognized a difference in style between the two series. The

⁴ Bihain (*loc. cit. supra*, n. 2).

⁵ Alexander's notice of Cyril may be read in PG 87.3 (Paris 1860) 4069; on this valuable text see Bihain 321 and n. 6.

jejune style of the Easter Lectures might be due to their subject matter and to a tradition of brevity in the Easter teaching after the rigours of Lent. But it is hard to believe that the theological expositions, always pedestrian and often threadbare, of the *Mystagogiae* are the product of the same mind as the Lenten Lectures, whose theological texture is commonly quite rich and whose often moving piety intermittently blazes into something like poetry.

While in sacramental theology the two series have much in common, notably the dualism of thing and sign, and while the conclusions about the relative importance of Baptism and Chrism probably do not greatly differ, yet the typology here is markedly different. In *Cat.* 3.14 and 17.9 (where the Greek is unambiguous) the dualism of Our Lord's baptism is that of simultaneous sign (water) and reality (descent of the Spirit), whereas in the *Mystagogiae* the descent of the Spirit is a subsequent event, to which Chrism answers. (See notes and appended notes below.) Again, in *Cat.* 17.13-15 Pentecost is the Apostles' Baptism and the Pentecostal fire is "the intelligible (*noētou*) water" (but contrast 16.26), whereas in the *Mystagogiae* there is not a word about Pentecost. Similarly St. John the Baptist, so prominent in the third Lenten Lecture (see also 4.11; 10.19; 14.19), appears only briefly in the *Mystagogiae* (2.6).

It is, indeed, logically possible that between the Lenten Lectures and the *Mystagogiae* Cyril met an *Ur-Dix* and his theology of Baptism *vis-à-vis* Confirmation underwent an agonizing reappraisal—there are perhaps signs of this in (later strata of?) the Lenten Lectures—but in that case he would probably have constructed a new synthesis.

Again, the *Mystagogiae*, both as a theological and a literary work, seem unworthy of Cyril. Compared with the praises of Baptism in the Lenten Lectures, set in a rich context of biblical theology, the *Mystagogiae* seem somewhat jejune and lame, as well as obscure. Awe and exclamations of pius

wonder have taken the place of understanding. Cyril, on the other hand, commanded considerable biblical and theological resources, to which corresponded a notable mastery of language, a quite rich vocabulary and some imagination. The diction of the *Mystagogiae* is, by comparison, poverty-stricken; I have deliberately, in my translation, left some of its infelicities unimproved.

Such judgments, however, are liable to subjectivity. The circumstances, subjects, and perhaps also the method of reporting differed in the two series.⁶ These differences would have led to some difference in style. If the difference between the Lenten Lectures and the *Mystagogiae* is as great as that between patristic and post-patristic literature, this is partly because the *Mystagogiae*, like the comparable works of Chrysostom and Ambrose, are a new literary *genre*. It does not in itself exclude Cyrilline authorship of the *Mystagogiae*, since their piecemeal, analytic, fragmented method was imposed by the artificial necessity of explaining the symbolism of the successive parts of the rite *seriatim*. For the main scope of the *Mystagogiae* was limited to the explanation of the symbolism. The case for John's authorship is less strong than the case against Cyril's. For John seems to have been a cultured Origenist of some renown, and the *Mystagogiae* do not seem to be very markedly Origenist.

Only this paucity of Origenisms in the *Mystagogiae* prompts reservations in ascribing them to John. In any case the double ascription may contain an element of truth. John is likely to have used the work of his predecessor. Catechizing is the responsibility of the bishop, so that there may well have been something like a diocesan script, subject to continuing revision.

6 There is even perhaps an outside chance that the text of the *Mystagogiae* derives from a Syriac original; we know from Aetheria (*loc. cit. supra*, n. 1) that there was a simultaneous translation of the Easter Lectures into Palestinian Syriac. This might explain the plethora of genitives in 3.3; since in Semitic thought "the Spirit" and the "divine Presence" were synonymous, two or three of the Greek genitives might be alternative renderings of a single Syriac word.

Liturgical documents are often traditional and conservative; they are an especially notable group in stratified "evolved" or "snowball" literature; they may be the work of several hands; several "new and revised" editions may appear; they are almost certain to be highly stratified, many-layered. On the other hand, when it is appreciated that John's (?) *Mystagogiae* date from towards the end of the fourth century (they may be later than St. Ambrose's *De mysteriis* and *De sacramentis*), one sees that they belong to a period of liturgical experiment and innovation. For all its alleged conservatism, liturgy appears in history as developing considerably; *e pur si muove*.

The Blessed John, as he is styled in the Jerusalem calendar reproduced *ca.* 440 in the Old Armenian Lectionary, was Bishop of Jerusalem 387-417 and is a personage fairly well known, principally from the correspondence of St. Jerome. Here it is relevant to mention only two episodes. In the famous Origenist controversy of 393-398 Jerome (who stigmatized St. Cyril as an Arian) bitterly disapproved of the shelter and friendship extended by John to such champions of Origen as Rufinus and savagely attacked him as an "Origenist" in his open letter to Pammachius.⁷ Later the famous English heresiarch, the lay monk Pelagius,⁸ came to Palestine and resided for some time in Jerusalem, where his voluntarist and anti-predestinarian teaching quickly became a live and divisive issue. Opposition to him was organized by Jerome and Augustine, who had recently condemned Pelagian teaching; and in 415 Pelagius was twice personally examined in Palestine about his views, first at a diocesan council at Jerusalem presided over by John, July 28. When Pelagius's opponents appealed to the authority of Augustine of Hippo as

7 A long letter (an apologia) of John is extensively reproduced by St. Jerome in his reply to it addressed "To Pammachius, Against John of Jerusalem" (the *Contra Ioannem Hier.*): PL 23.371-412 (*al.* 355-396).

8 Cf. J. Ferguson, *Pelagius* (Cambridge 1956), ch. 6; J. Brochet, *S. Jérôme et ses ennemis* (Paris 1905).

decisive, John said: "I am Augustine here." Pelagius was again examined at a provincial council held at Diospolis (Lydda) towards the end of December. John was present, but the president was Eulogius, bishop of Caesarea, the metropolitan see. At both synods Pelagius was acquitted after a rather superficial theological debate. For Pelagian tendencies in the Cyrilline *corpus* see the notes to the Sermon on the Paralytic.

Text

Auguste Piédagnel has done a notable service to scholarship by providing a considerably improved text and a vastly improved apparatus. Only thrice, I think, have I departed from this text; twice (1.1, end, and 3.3) Piédagnel himself in his translation (a revision of that of P. Paris) follows the old text. Although the first draft of my translation dated from the pre-Piédagnel era, I hope I have, in revising it, caught all the textual changes. The text looks irrecoverably corrupt at some points; even the new text presents some difficulties to the translator. For greater precision in text citations, I will sometimes speak of the chapters of both series of the Catecheses, together with the *Procatechesis*, as if divided into five approximately equal parts, A-E, although these subdivisions are not indicated in either the Piédagnel text or this translation.

Fr. Piédagnel has (pp. 51, 58, 80) classified the important manuscripts into three families α , β , γ . But this nomenclature (adopted in my notes) does not imply a grading of the manuscripts into a first, second, and third class. For, while Piédagnel judges α the best family, both β and γ are of ancient lineage, β 's *Bodl. Roe* 25 being probably and γ 's *Ottob.* 86 certainly pre-Conquest.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

(See above, p. 143, opening sentence.)

The general view, at least, is that the *Mystagogiae* were delivered in Jerusalem, in the Church of the Resurrection. The link with Jerusalem, however, provided by the internal evidence is a slender thread. In 2.7 the Mystagogue is developing St. Paul's argument (Rom. 6.1-6) that Christians are baptized into Christ's *death* and so become "fellows" (partakers) of His passion. The Mystagogue proceeds, first quoting Rom. 6.5 and taking "planted" as a metaphor for burial (symbolized by the immersion in the baptismal pool): "For if we were planted along with him by this symbolic enactment of his death, we shall also share his resurrection." 'Planted along with' is apt. For since it was here (*entautha*) that the true Vine was planted, we, by partaking, through baptism, in His death, have been 'planted along with' Him." So the manuscripts and the received text; the candidates were planted or buried "along with" Christ because the Jerusalem baptistery adjoined the Holy Sepulchre. A nice pastoral thought. Yet what a trivialization of the great theme in sacramental theology, elsewhere (in 2.6-7) expounded at so high a level of serious exegesis: that baptism is a mystical enactment of the heart and climax of the Christ event. Instead of reaching a climax, the development of this theme is here sacrificed to an essentially silly conceit. Moreover the conceit is left uncompleted in the apodosis, and, by contrast with the Lenten Lectures in such passages as 16.4, nowhere in the *Myst.* do we meet the note of pride in the singular glories of the church of Jerusalem. In our sentence in 2.7 what theology and context alike require is not "Since it was here . . .," but "Since it was *in death* (or *by dying*) that the true Vine was planted . . ."—cf. John 12.24; then the sentence continues naturally, "We by partaking of this death/baptism have become 'one planting' with Him." Since for the Vine death was only a planting, when it buds again, it includes all the baptized. The original Greek, therefore, was not *entautha*, but *en tōi tha*, *tha* being an abbreviation for *thanatōi*; for a comparable abbreviation, *anon* for (anarthrous) *anthrōpon*, in an Athanasian manuscript, cf. F. L. Cross, in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 49 (1948) 94. Abbreviations, however, seem to be normally marked by a line above them.

This emendation is confirmed by 2.4, where *entautha* seems again to be a mistake for *en tōi thanatōi*, "in dying." Here, in a passage of central theological importance—for the Mystagogue is explaining the symbolism of the actual baptismal immersion—the received text gives: "You made the saving confession and immersed yourselves three times in the water and rose up again, *also herein* (*kai*

entautha) hinting by a symbol at Christ's three days in the grave." But the "herein" is redundant, and the "also" has no possible reference. Moreover baptism then symbolizes, not death and burial, but only burial; the candidates are apparently buried alive. If, however, we substitute *en tōi tha(natōi)* for *entautha*, we get: "in your symbolic dying, hinting *also* at Christ's three days' burial"—i.e., by the *tripleness* of the immersion, to which the burial symbolism is confined. For the *candidates*, the water is a grave only in the sense that they die in it. Yet, while the rest of 2.4 as well as 2.5-7 favours our emendation here, the first sentence of 2.4 tells against it and suggests that the candidates perhaps "died" when they "stripped off the old man" in 2.2.

The other link with Jerusalem (*Myst.* 2.4) is also tenuous: "as Christ was carried from the Cross to the tomb which lies in your view (*prokeimenon*)."¹ This link would be severed if *prokeimenon* meant "which lay in view of the Cross," or "prescribed" ("predicted"?), or "above-mentioned"; or if the true reading were *prokeimenōn*, meaning simply "tomb," or (since *prokeimenon* would be a familiar word to copyists of liturgical texts, both in reference to the eucharistic *oblata* and to the "proper" antiphon) *proskeimenon*, "the adjacent, or nearby, tomb."

FIRST LECTURE ON THE MYSTERIES

The First Part of the Baptismal Ceremony
(The Rites of the Outer Chamber:
Renunciation of Satan, Profession of Faith)
With a Lesson from Peter's First Catholic Epistle,
Beginning, "Be sober, be watchful," to the End¹
By the same Cyril and Bishop John

(1) It has long been my wish, true-born and long-desired children of the Church, to discourse to you upon these spiritual, heavenly mysteries. On the principle, however, that seeing is believing, I delayed until the present occasion, calculating that after what you saw on that night I should find you a readier audience now when I am to be your guide to the brighter and more fragrant² meadows of this second Eden. In particular, you are now capable of understanding the diviner mysteries of divine, life-giving baptism. The time being now come to spread for you the board of more perfect instruction, let me explain the significance of what was done for you³ on that evening of your Baptism.

(2) First you entered the antechamber of the baptistery and faced towards the west. On the command to stretch out your hand, you renounced Satan as though he were there in person.

¹ 1 Peter 5.8ff.

² Note the comparatives. The imagery continues and *develops* that of the exordium of the *Procatechesis*, which is a point in favour of identity of authorship. For further paradisaical imagery cf. *Procat.* 16; *Myst.* 1.4 (end), 9; 2.2 (end). Christians, therefore, live in the East, the fiends (the "opposite Powers") in the West.

³ Here I follow a neat emendation suggested by Touttée, and my translation agrees with Piédagnel's—though not with his text!

This moment, you should know, is prefigured in ancient history. When that tyrannous and cruel despot, Pharaoh, was oppressing the noble, free-spirited Hebrew nation, God sent Moses to deliver them from the hard slavery imposed upon them by the Egyptians. The doorposts were anointed with the blood of a lamb that the destroyer might pass over the houses signed with the blood; so the Jews were miraculously liberated. After their liberation the enemy gave chase, and, on seeing the sea part miraculously before them, still continued in hot pursuit, only to be instantaneously overwhelmed and engulfed in the Red Sea.

(3) Pass, pray, from the old to the new, from the figure to the reality. There Moses sent by God to Egypt; here Christ sent from the Father into the world. Moses' mission was to lead out from Egypt a persecuted people; Christ's, to rescue all the people of the world who were under the tyranny of sin. There the blood of a lamb was the charm against the destroyer; here, the blood of the unspotted Lamb, Jesus Christ, is appointed your inviolable sanctuary against demons. Pharaoh pursued that people of old right into the sea; this outrageous spirit, the impudent author of all evil, followed you, each one, up to the very verge of the saving streams. That other tyrant is engulfed and drowned in the Red Sea; this one is destroyed in the saving water.⁴

⁴ Baptism is the new Exodus; sometimes (e.g., in the Odes of Solomon) it is the crossing of Jordan and the entry into the Promised Land that is prominent. John 1.17 ("The Law . . .") represents Christ as the new Moses, and from as early as the Epistle of Barnabas the Church is represented by Christian writers as the true Israel. For baptism and the Red Sea, cf. 1 Cor. 10.1, 2 on which cf. Origen, *In Exod.*, Hom. 5.5 (GCS, Origen, 6.190), where the baptizand escapes (like the stag) by entering the water, in which the Egyptians then drown. Cf. *In Lib. Iesu Nave*, Hom. 26.2 (GCS, Orig., 7.459), where Israel's travels in the desert symbolize the baptismal renunciation, and the emergence from the Red Sea represents the baptismal grace; also Ephraem Syrus, *Hymni in Fest. Epiph.* 1.6 (Lamy, 1.7): "Israel passed over the sea and was unbelieving; the Gentiles, plunged in the baptismal waters, believed and received the Holy Spirit." D. Daube (*The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* 106-140) says that a convert to Judaism in N.T. times, regenerated by proselyte baptism, was

(4) You are told, however, to address him as personally present, and with arm outstretched to say: "I renounce you, Satan."⁵ Allow me to explain the reason of your facing west, for you should know it. Because the west is the region of visible darkness,⁶ Satan, who is himself darkness, has his empire in darkness—that is the significance of your looking steadily towards the west while you renounce that gloomy Prince of night.

What was it that each of you said, standing there? "I renounce you, Satan, you wicked and cruel tyrant; I no longer" (you said in effect) "fear your power. For Christ broke that power by sharing flesh and blood with me, planning through

thought of as passing through the experience of ancient Israel (Exodus, etc.). And 1 Cor. 10.1-2 shows that the baptism of the desert generation of Israelites was a model for Christian baptism also.

- 5 For the renunciation of Satan cf. 1 Thess. 1.9-10: "... how you turned from Idols to be the servants of the living and true God, and to wait expectantly . . . , the deliverer from the terrors of judgment to come."
- 6 The Light-Darkness antithesis, so common in the Bible from Gen. 1 to the Apoc., perhaps originated in Babylonia or Persia. In Gnosticism it has an intellectual, in Christianity an ethical slant, though implying also a (nonradical or at least optimistic) cosmic dualism. Darkness is evil and falsehood, irrationality and unreality. Darkness reigned for three hours during the Crucifixion, but then Christ rose like the Sun on the first day of the week. The ethical dualism of Zoroastrianism taught a cosmic conflict between Ormuzd, god of light and good, and Ahriman, god of darkness and evil. The Fourth Gospel uses similar imagery and the War Scroll from Qumran speaks of the war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. The opening chapters of the *Didache* (A.D. ca. 110?) speak of the Two Ways, of Life and Death, while the corresponding closing chapters of (the Alexandrian?) Pseudo-Barnabas speak of the Two Ways of Light and Darkness. Both derive from an earlier, probably, pre-Christian Jewish moral catechism. Inevitably there is some overlap between religions in their symbolism and ethical teaching. The Jerusalem word for Baptism was "enlightenment" and the candidates were "those being enlightened" (*phōtizomenoi*); we know from the *Peregrinatio* of Aetheria that the Jerusalem Church of the Resurrection, where the candidates were initiated, was brilliantly illuminated by a thousand lamps on Holy Saturday night.

The West as Satan's abode: Porphyry (*The Nymphs' Cave in the Odyssey* 29) connects mortal and servile beings with the north, semi-divine beings with the south, gods with the east and demons with the west. Proclus (*Comm. in Platonis Timaeum* 24D) places the hylic demons in the west, "since the west, as the Egyptians said, is the place of the lowest demons."

their assumption to break, by His death, the power of Death, to save me from subjection to perpetual bondage.⁷ I renounce you, crafty scoundrel of a serpent; I renounce you, traitor, perpetrator of every crime, who inspired our first parents to revolt. I renounce you, Satan, agent and abettor of all wickedness."

(5) Then in a second phrase you are taught to say, "and all your works." All sin is "the works of Satan"; and sin, too, you must renounce, since he who has escaped from a tyrant has also cast off the tyrant's livery. Sin in all its forms, then, is included in the works of the Devil. Only let me tell you this: all your words, particularly those spoken at that awful hour, are recorded in the book of God. Whenever, therefore, you are caught in conduct contrary to your profession, you will be tried as a renegade. Renounce, then, the works of Satan, that is, every irrational⁸ deed and thought.

(6) Next you say, "and all his pomp."⁹ The pomp of the Devil is the craze for the theatre, the horse races in the circus, the wild-beast hunts, and all such vanity, from which the saint prays to God to be delivered in the words, "Turn away mine eyes that they may not behold vanity."¹⁰ Avoid an addiction to the theatre, with its spectacle of the licentiousness, the lewd and unseemly antics of actors and the frantic dancing of degenerates. Not for you, either, the folly of those who, to gratify their miserable appetite, expose themselves to wild beasts in the combats in the amphitheatre. They pamper their belly at the cost of becoming themselves, in the event, food for the maw of savage beasts; of these gladiators it is fair to say that in the service of the belly which is their God they

⁷ Cf. Heb. 2.14-15.

⁸ *Para logon*: J. Bouvet and Piédagnel prefer: "contrary to your baptismal promise."

⁹ This phrase is not found in all, even later, liturgies. The *ApTrad* (21.9) has simply: "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service and all thy works."

¹⁰ Ps. 118.37.

court death in the arena.¹¹ Shun also the bedlam of the races, a spectacle in which souls as well as riders come to grief. All these follies are the pomp of the Devil.

(7) The food, also, which is sometimes hung up in pagan temples and at festivals—meat, bread, and so forth—since it is defiled by the invocation of abominable demons, may be included in “the pomp of the Devil.” For as the bread and wine of the Eucharist before the holy invocation of the adorable Trinity were ordinary bread and wine, while after the invocation the bread becomes the Body of Christ, and the wine his Blood, so these foods of the pomp of Satan, though of their own nature ordinary food, become profane through the invocation of evil spirits.¹²

(8) After this you say, “and all your service.” The service of the Devil is prayer in the temples of idols, the honoring of lifeless images, the lighting of lamps or the burning of incense by springs or streams; there have been cases of persons who, deceived by dreams or by evil spirits, have gone to this length in the hope of being rewarded by the cure of even bodily

¹¹ ApTrad, ch. 16, lists among the trades and professions forbidden to Christians, idolatry, the circus and the amphitheatre. While Cyril emphasizes gluttony as the motive of the gladiator or *bestiarius*, the attractiveness of such professions is otherwise explained by S. Dill (*Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 2d ed. [London 1905, reprinted 1925] 238-244). The “stars” of this dangerous and glamorous profession commanded salaries comparable to those of a successful footballer or bull-fighter in modern times. While they were fed like fighting cocks, they were subject to harsh discipline. What is the explanation of Cyril’s emphasis? A sentence in Tert. *Apol.* 42 suggests the possibility that the *bestiarii* sometimes were banqueted before the combat. Botte, cited by Piédagnel, suggests that Cyril misunderstood an obsolete prohibition. I assume, against Piédagnel, that *kynēgesion*, like *venatio*, can, and here does, mean, not “hunting,” but “combats with wild beasts” in the arena. Circus shows were denounced by Hippolytus and Tertullian (*Apol.* 38-42 *passim*; *Spec.* 10 [theatre], 16-17). They were connected with the worship of the pagan gods of Greece and Rome and, on festivals, were inaugurated by a religious procession (*pompē*). When Hadrian rebuilt Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina in 135, he included a theatre; there were theatrical performances in Jerusalem in Cyril’s time (Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 4.25.3-4).

¹² Cf. *Cat.* 3.3; *Myst.* 3.3; 1 Cor. 10.20. For the omission, in some versions of ApTrad, of one or other forbidden crafts as they became irrelevant, see ApTrad, p. 25, n. 10.

ailments. Have nothing to do with these practices. The observation of birds, divination, omens, charms and amulets, magic and similar chicanery—all such practices are the cult of the Devil. Shun them. For if you should succumb to such practices after renouncing Satan and transferring your allegiance to Christ,¹³ you will find the usurper¹⁴ more cruel than ever. For if formerly, treating you as a familiar, he abated the rigors of your slavery, now he will be furiously exasperated against you. So you will lose Christ and taste Satan's tyranny.

Have you not heard the old story which recounts the fate of Lot and his daughters? Was not Lot himself saved together with his daughters after gaining the mountain, while his wife was turned into a pillar of salt,¹⁵ a monumental warning and a memorial of her wicked choice (her looking back)? So be on your guard: do not turn back to "what is behind,"¹⁶ first "putting your hand to the plow"¹⁷ and then "turning back" to the bitter savor of the things of this world. No; flee to the mountain, to Jesus Christ, the "stone hewn without hands"¹⁸ that has filled the world.

(9) When you renounce Satan, trampling underfoot every covenant with him, then you annul that ancient "league with Hell,"¹⁹ and God's paradise opens before you, that Eden, planted in the east, from which for his transgression our first father was banished. Symbolic of this is your facing about from the west to the east, the place of light. It was at this point that

¹³ Cf. (besides baptism itself) the turning to the east and the declaratory Creed in ch. 9. A fourth-century (T) version of the ApTrad, 10a, interpolates, after the Renunciation and first Unction, a declaration of adherence to the Blessed Trinity. The K text (ca. 500) interpolates, slightly later (11a), a more elaborate form.

¹⁴ At baptism rebels and traitors return to their true allegiance.

¹⁵ Clement of Rome (1 Clem. 11.2) speaks of this pillar of salt "standing — to this day" (A.D. ca. 97). Josephus (*Antiq.* 1.203) had seen it. This (Sodom) area abounds in pillars of salt, and medieval and later travellers (or their guides) have delighted to identify one or another with the pillar.

¹⁶ Phil. 3.13.

¹⁷ Cf. Luke 9.62.

¹⁸ Cf. Dan. 2.45.

¹⁹ Cf. Isa. 28.15.

you were told to say: "I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, and in one Baptism of repentance."²⁰ But these subjects have been treated at large, as God's grace allowed, in the previous discourses.

(10) In the security, then, of this formula of faith, "be sober." For "our adversary, the devil," in the words just read, "as a roaring lion, goes about seeking whom he may devour."²¹ Yet if in former times Death was mighty and devoured, now, in the time of the holy laver of regeneration, "the Lord God hath wiped away all tears from every face."²² No more shall you mourn, now that you have "put off the old man,"²³ but you shall ever keep high festival, clad in Jesus Christ as in a garment of salvation.

(11) That was what was done in the outer chamber. When we enter, God willing, in the succeeding discourses on the mysteries, into the Holy of Holies, we shall receive the key to the rites performed there. Now to God,²⁴ with the Son and the Holy Spirit, be glory, power and majesty forever and ever. Amen.

²⁰ Quite likely Cyril summarizes here, and the candidates recited the whole of the Jerusalem creed. The closely parallel passage in ApCo 7.41 suggests that, turning to the east after the renunciation (*apostasomai*), the candidates prefaced the Creed with a "consociation" (*syntassomai*) with Christ. See note 13 above.

²¹ 1 Peter 5.8, 9.

²² Cf. Isa. 25.8 and Apoc. 7.17.

²³ Cf. Eph. 4.22.

²⁴ The use of the word "God" as a designation of the Father is, in a document of this date, rather striking: archaic? traditionalist? Originist?

PREFATORY REMARK TO THE SECOND AND THIRD LECTURES ON THE MYSTERIES

The B Theory and the C Theory

Mystagogical Lectures 2 and 3 are relevant to an important continuing debate about the relative importance of Baptism and Confirmation, and especially about the answer to the question, "In which sacrament is the Holy Spirit given?" For convenience I shall refer to the theory which exalts Baptism (the theory to which I provisionally subscribe) as the B theory, and to the other as the C (Chrism or Confirmation) theory. The B theory holds that the Spirit, being inseparable from other graces incontestably given in Baptism (dying and rising with Christ, regeneration, adoptive sonship, sanctifying grace, new creation), is Himself given in Baptism. Thus (as the Lenten Lectures hold) Baptism is the sacrament of the Death and Resurrection of the Lord and also corresponds to Pentecost, the primal creation of the Church through the Spirit; so Peter after Pentecost says (Acts 2.38): "Be baptized . . . and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit"; cf. John 3.5. On this view Confirmation, whether by imposition of hands or by chrismation (anointing), though primitive, is a subsidiary rite; it rounded off the rite (though sometimes it preceded Baptism) and gave a high sacramental grace (of variable interpretation) but was not strictly essential. The bishop's role is safeguarded in this theory by the fact that the whole initiation rite is under his control and direction.

The C theory holds that Pentecost corresponds to Confirmation (Chrism) and that it is in Chrism that the Spirit is given. Among the texts to which it appeals are Acts 8.14-17 (Peter and John in Samaria), 19.5, and the problematic 1 John 2.20, 27 ("You have an anointing, *chrisma*. . ."). It holds that quite often in the New Testament "baptism" refers not simply to water-baptism but to a larger rite of which this was only a part. It interprets the "born again of water and the Spirit" of John 3.3-5 as referring to two baptisms, water-baptism and baptism of Spirit by chrismation. Similarly in the Gospel narratives of Our Lord's baptism by John it finds two successive events (the exemplars of Baptism and Confirmation) instead of the dualism of a single event in which one element (the Dove and the Voice) is but the visibilization¹ of the spiritual grace conferred in the other (the baptism in Jordan). Emphasizing that "Christ" means "anointed," it holds that Chrism christens.

While in the notes to Mystagogical Lectures 2 and 3 I have occasionally criticized the theological assumptions and implications of the C theory, I nowhere discuss the earlier evidence, on which the answer to the question depends.

¹ I owe this useful term "visibilization" to the Revd G. G. Harrop (Hamilton, Ontario).

SECOND LECTURE ON THE MYSTERIES

Baptism: The Rites of the Inner Chamber

*"Do you not know that all we who have been baptized into Christ Jesus have been baptized into his death? . . . since you are not under law but under grace."*¹

(1) The daily initiatory expositions, with their new teaching telling of new realities, are profitable to you, especially to those of you who have just been renewed from oldness to newness. I shall, therefore, resuming from yesterday, expound the bare essentials of our next topic, explaining the symbolical meaning of what you did in the inner chamber.²

(2) Immediately, then, upon entering, you removed your tunics. This was a figure of the "stripping off of the old man with his deeds."³ Having stripped, you were naked,⁴ in this also imitating Christ, who was naked on the cross, by His nakedness "throwing off the cosmic powers and authorities like a garment and publicly upon the cross leading them in his triumphal procession."⁵ For as the forces of the enemy

1 Rom. 6.3-14. No further references are given to this passage.

2 This sentence seems to support Piédagnel's translation against his text in the last sentence of 1.1.

3 Col. 3.9.

4 The tunic (*chitōn*) was the garment worn by both sexes next to the skin. The candidates would already have removed their shoes and outer garments for the Renunciation in *Myst.* 1. Cf. Thomas Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church* 11.11.1: All "persons were baptized naked, either in imitation of Adam in Paradise, or our Saviour upon the cross, or to signify their putting off . . . the old man. . . ."

5 Col. 2.15. So Cyril, against Blass-Debrunner and Arndt-Gingrich, who take *apekdyomai* as = "disarm" the principalities and powers. Well E. H. Gifford (LPNF): "Christ . . . , clothed with the likeness of sinful flesh during His life on earth, submitted therein to the assaults

made their lair in our members, you may no longer wear the old garment. I do not, of course, refer to this visible garment, but to "the old man which, deluded by its lusts, is sinking towards death."⁶ May the soul that has once put off that old self never again put it on, but say with the Bride of Christ in the Cantic of Canticles: "I have put off my garment: how shall I put it on?"⁷ Marvelous! You were naked in the sight of all and were not ashamed! Truly you bore the image of the first-formed Adam, who was naked in the garden and "was not ashamed."⁸

(3) Then, when stripped, you were anointed with exorcised olive oil from the topmost hairs of your head to the soles of your feet,⁹ and became partakers of the good olive tree, Jesus Christ. Cuttings from the wild olive tree, you were grafted into the good olive tree and became partakers of the fatness of the true olive tree.¹⁰ The exorcised olive oil, therefore,

of the powers of evil, but on the Cross threw off from Himself both it and them."

6 Eph. 4.22.

7 Cant. 5.3. This chapter shows that at Jerusalem as elsewhere the newly baptized donned white garments (the color of the Resurrection).

8 Gen. 2.25.

9 Scandalized by this total unction, Grodecky, an early commentator, wished, impossibly, to translate "from the top to the bottom of their hair."

The *Didascalia Apostolorum* (ed. R. H. Connolly, xlix-li) shows that the early N. Syrian Church required, before the bath, an anointing on the head by the bishop, with imposition of hands, the anointing of the body being completed by deacon or deaconess; and this was the only unction. T. W. Manson ("Entry into Membership of the Early Church," *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 [1947] 25-33) argued that this was the (or a) primitive usage; he pointed to Cornelius (Acts 10), St. Paul's initiation (Acts 9.17-19) and 1 John 5.7. ApCo 7.22 makes this first anointing confer the *koinōnia* (participation) of the Holy Ghost; the water signifies death, and the post-baptismal unction is a confirmatory seal of the baptismal covenant—the earlier N. Syrian use? ApCo 7.22 continues: "But if there be neither oil nor ointment (Chrism), water is sufficient both for the unction and the seal and the confession of Him with Whom we have died." See also *Did.* (Cop. and ApCo texts only) 10.8.

10 Cf. Rom. 11.17-24 and Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 5.10. In the *Myst.* the second, post-baptismal anointing is clearly regarded as the important one. The first anointing is with previously exorcised olive oil (*elaion*), the second with chrism (*myron*). The threat from Chrismation or

symbolized the partaking of the richness of Christ; its effect is to disperse every concentration of the cosmic forces arrayed against us. For as the breath of the saints¹¹ upon you, with the invocation of the name of God, burns the devils like fierce fire and expels them, so this exorcised olive oil receives, through prayer and the invocation of God, power so great as not only to burn and purge away the traces of sin but also to put to rout all the invisible forces of the Evil One.

(4) After this you were conducted to the sacred pool of divine Baptism, as Christ passed from the cross to the sep-

Confirmation to the primacy of Baptism in the initiatory rite arose from the feeling that "christening," incorporation into Christ (lit. "the Anointed One"), was more appropriately symbolized by anointing or chris-mation, which was originally (I take it) a secondary ceremony. Then the sacramental (so to say) "dualism" of the Gospel account of the baptism of Jesus was re-interpreted. Following Matthew or Luke rather than Mark, one could argue that the descent of the Dove and the heavenly Voice proclaiming the Messiahship of Jesus were not related to the actual baptism simply as its *interpretation* (the proclamation through Dove and Voice being the mere visibilization of what had actually happened at the baptism), but as a second, subsequent event on the same plane; so that the Christian sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation could be regarded as corresponding to two successive events in the life of Jesus. The second sacrament, conveying the Spirit, would then be the greater. On the other (earlier?) view, Mark would provide the exemplar, and the two events would be simultaneous, the descent of the Spirit being but the visibilization of the spiritual reality granted to Our Lord as man in his baptism in Jordan.

The present passage, connecting the anointing with olive oil with Rom. 11.17ff., suggests, when compared with *Myst.* 3.5, that the two anointings form a doublet. Since not uncommonly in Syria the anointing preceded Baptism, this anointing with olive oil may be the original. But in our Jerusalem rite this first anointing is no more than a preparatory purification. It first appears in apocryphal literature: Acts of Thomas, Testament of Levi, Acts of Xanthippus. See PGL, s.v. *elaion*, C.

In *Cat.* 3.11-13, it is in the baptismal waters that Death and the Dragon are defeated.

Who are the ministers of this total unction? For the men, no doubt, priests, deacons and the lower clergy. But for the women? Epiphanius mentions deaconesses in connection with baptism, and ApCo 3.15-16 says that the deaconesses completed the anointing after a deacon had begun it on the forehead. It seems likely that this was the general practice.

¹¹ The candidates had themselves been exorcised every morning during Lent (*Procat.* 9).

ulchre you see before you.¹² You were asked, one by one, whether you believed in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; you made that saving confession, and then you dipped¹³ thrice under the water and thrice rose up again, therein mystically signifying Christ's three days' burial. For as our Savior passed three days and three nights in the bowels of the earth, so you by your first rising out of the water represented Christ's first day in the earth, and by your descent the night. For as in the night one no longer sees, while by day one is in the light, so you during your immersion, as in a night, saw nothing, but on coming up found

12 This passage does not point necessarily to Jerusalem and the Church of the Resurrection; see above, p. 150, Suppl. Note.—Even after the early days, when Baptism was in pools or rivers (Justin, 1 *Apol.* 61; Tertullian, *Bapt.* 4; *Didache* 7, though here it could be from a basin), not all churches had baptisteries. But the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem A.D. 333-4, tells us (CSEL 39.23): "There on the orders of Constantine a church was built . . . with a reservoir at the side and at the rear a bath where the infants are washed," i.e., where the candidates receive the laver.

13 Who is the minister of the sacrament? About the minister of Baptism in Hippolytus, Dix (TCB 15-16) asks: "Is it the Presbyter . . . who asks the questions? Or . . . the Deacon . . . who lays a hand on his head? Or is it conceivably the candidate himself?" Hippolytus (21.12) does mention a minister, the deacon, who probably pushed the candidates under. But the *Myst.* mention no minister; the candidates seem to duck down or submerge themselves.

There was no need to explain to the newly baptized who the ministers were. Unlike the ApTrad, the *Myst.* are not a Church Order. But certainly in the *Myst.* no one baptizes in the later sense of pouring the water and saying "I baptize thee." The candidates themselves seem to be mainly responsible both for the "proximate matter" (descending into and under the water, as at John's baptism) and the "form" (in making the threefold credal confession in response to the Trinitarian interrogation). But *Cat.* 17.35 provides important evidence here. There Cyril (ca. 350) speaks of a baptizer and says that he may be bishop, presbyter or deacon since in any case it is the Holy Spirit who seals the soul. The ancient 49th Apostolic Canon speaks of "Bishop or Presbyter." Clearly everything was done under the authority of the Bishop (who may also have previously consecrated the elements: oil, water, chrism), and the clergy presided, organized and directed proceedings, besides performing the anointing.

yourselves in the day. In the same moment you were dying and being born, and that saving water was at once your grave and your mother. What Solomon said in another context is applicable to you: "A time for giving birth, a time for dying";¹⁴ although for you, contrariwise, it is a case of "a time for dying and a time for being born." One time brought both, and your death coincided with your birth.

(5) The strange, the extraordinary, thing is that we did not really die, nor were really buried or really crucified; nor did we really rise again: this was figurative and symbolic; yet our salvation was real. Christ's crucifixion was real, His burial was real, and His resurrection was real; and all these He has freely made ours, that by sharing His sufferings in a symbolic enactment we may really and truly gain salvation. Oh, too generous love! Christ received the nails in His immaculate hands and feet; Christ felt the pain: and on me without pain or labor, through the fellowship of His pain, He freely bestows salvation.

(6) Let no one imagine, then, that Baptism wins only the grace of remission of sins plus adoption, as John's baptism conferred only the remission of sins.¹⁵ No; we know full well that Baptism not only washes away our sins and procures for

14 Eccles. 3.2. So the traditional translation. But does not Cyril/John make Eccles. say, "The time of (giving) birth is also the time of dying"? If so, reinterpret the sequel accordingly.

15 It is rather surprising that so staunch a disciple of Origen as John of Jerusalem should attribute the forgiveness of sins to John's baptism when Origen (*Comm. in Ioh.* 6.33, PG 14.257B) denied regeneration to it. Pseudo-Hippolytus (*Theoph.* 3, PG 10.853D) takes exactly the same view as the text here: remission of sins but not adoption. Cyril also glorifies John the Baptist against Origen; contrast the first sentence of *Cat.* 3.6 with Origen's statement (*Comm. in Rom.* 5.8, PG 14.1039B) that John's baptism was *not* the beginning of the New Dispensation. But Cyril regarded John as one of the patron saints of Jerusalem; to glorify him was to glorify Jerusalem, cf. *Cat.* 3.7 *init.* Yet Origen, *In Ioh.* 1.13 (Preuschen; PG 14.48AB), closely approximates Cyril, *Cat.* 3.6.

us the gift of the Holy Spirit,¹⁶ but is also the antitype¹⁷ of the Passion of Christ. That is why Paul just now proclaimed: "Do you not know that all we who have been baptized into Christ Jesus have been baptized into His death? For through Baptism we were buried along with Him." Perhaps this was directed against those who supposed that Baptism procures

16 What is "the gift (*dōrea*, cf. Acts 2.38) of the Spirit," and when is it conferred: at Baptism or Confirmation? Here we meet the great controversy between Stone and Lampe, etc., *versus* the Dix-Mason line, which glorifies Confirmation ("Spirit-Baptism"), the former saying that *the* gift of the Spirit, i.e., the Spirit Himself, is given in Baptism, while the latter say "in Confirmation." The Lenten Lectures, on the whole, strongly support the former view (though not in its terms), while the Mystagogical support the latter, though in its terms only, not in its emphasis or its interpretation of the relative importance of the terms.

Three times in this chapter participation in Christ's Passion is contrasted with a pair of other graces of Baptism; twice this pair is forgiveness and the adoptive sonship; once it is forgiveness and the "gift of the Spirit." Therefore "the gift of the Spirit" is, here, adoption.

But it does not *immediately* follow that in the *Myst.* the gift of the Spirit is mediated by Baptism, since in 3.3 the Chrism brings an advent or presence (*parousia*) of the Spirit and here (2.6) adoption is not explicitly correlated with any ceremony. It is arguable, therefore, that, as Touttée suggested, "Baptism" is here used in a *broad* sense that includes Chrismation. Moreover it is possible to read 3.1 (*init.*) as meaning that the putting on of Christ at Baptism prepares for the Adoption which follows (in Chrism). Yet it is certain that "the gift of the Spirit" (as = Adoption) is, in the *Myst.*, given in Baptism. For (1) presumably the preacher is keeping to the order of events; to depart from it without warning would be unpardonably confusing in a programmatic work like the *Myst.* (2) The terminology of 5.1 (formally canonized in the Code of Justinian) exhibits "baptism" as the regular word for water-baptism. Elsewhere the *Myst.* seem to adhere to this usage; see 2.4; 3.2, 4 (twice); (3.1?). (3) Once "the gift of the Spirit" is identified as Adoption, it must be given in Baptism; and, further, Adoption is inseparable from "the gift of the Spirit" in the strong sense (defining genitive) (Rom. 8.14-17, Gal. 4.6, 7). The gift, or descent, of the Spirit in *Myst.* 3.3, therefore, must be some special supplementary grace, "confirming" and topping off what has been done. (4) Otherwise Baptism would not differ from John's baptism. This is decisive.

17 A representation or (sacramental) sign of a spiritual original. Cf. 3.1 (twice); 4.3; 5.20. See note 8 on 3.1.

only the remission of sins and the adoption of sons and does not, beyond this, really make us imitatively partakers of the sufferings of Christ.

(7) To teach us, then, that all that Christ endured "for us and for our salvation," He suffered in actual fact and not in mere seeming, and that we have fellowship in His Passion, Paul cries aloud in unequivocal language: "For if we have become one planting with him by the likeness of His death, we shall be one with him by the likeness of His Resurrection also." "One planting" is apt, for since the true Vine was planted here,¹⁸ we, by partaking in the Baptism of His death, have become "one planting" with Him. Mark closely the words of the Apostle: he did not say: "for if we have become one planting by His death," but "by the likeness of His death." For in the case of Christ death was real, His soul being really separated from his Body. His burial, too, was real, for His sacred Body was wrapped in clean linen. In His case it all really happened. But in your case there was only a likeness of death and suffering, whereas of salvation there was no likeness, but the reality.¹⁹

(8) That should be sufficient instruction on these points. I urge you to keep it in your memory that I too, though unworthy, may be able to say of you: "I love you because at all times you keep me in mind and maintain the tradition I handed on to you."²⁰ God, "who has presented you as those who have come alive from the dead," is able to grant to you to "walk in newness of life," because His is the glory and the power, now and forever. Amen.

¹⁸ But for the text here see above, p. 150, Suppl. Note.

¹⁹ The "reality" here is the same as the *res*, i.e., the benefit or grace of the sacrament, in later theology. But the reality or original of the "antitype" or sign is a person or event of sacred history, and this ambiguity, perhaps, sometimes led to confusion in later theology.

²⁰ Cf. 1 Cor. 11.2.

THIRD LECTURE ON THE MYSTERIES

The Holy Chrism

*"But you have an anointing from God and you know all things, etc. . . . that we may have confidence and may not shrink ashamed from him at his coming."*¹

(1) "Baptized into Christ" and "clothed with Christ,"² you have been shaped to the likeness of the Son of God.³ For God, in "predestining us to be adopted as his sons,"⁴ has "conformed us to the body of the glory"⁵ of Christ. As "partakers⁶ of Christ," therefore, you are rightly called "Christs," i.e., "anointed ones": it was of you that God said: "Touch not my Christs."⁷ Now, you became Christs by receiving the anti-type⁸ of the Holy Spirit; everything has been wrought in you

1 1 John 2.20-28.

2 Gal. 3.27.

3 Cf. Rom. 8.29.

4 Cf. Eph. 1.5.

5 Phil. 3.21.

6 Heb. 3.14; or "partners" or "fellows."

7 Ps. 104.15, Sept.

8 Counterpart, sign, sacramental element; cf. below, 3.1; 2.6; 4.3 ("type"); 5.20. The idea of Greek type and antitype is that of the die or "engraved stamp for coining, striking medal, embossing paper, etc." (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. die). Thus in theology the antitype is the earthly copy of the heavenly reality and model (Heb. 9.24) or, as in 1 Peter 3.21 (saving Baptism as the antitype of the Deluge) and in *Myst.*, the sacrament which, without being identical with the heavenly realities or the saving events, mediates their benefits. Thus in 2.6 Baptism confers the *benefits* of Christ's Passion and perhaps a mystical identification with it, yet "you did not really die"; it was the salvation that was "in truth" (2.5; cf. 2.7 end). Similarly here the antitype is contrasted with the Spirit "*ousiōdēs*," and "all is done imagewise." On the other hand, compared with the Old Testament figures (types, 3.6), the sacrament is the fulfillment and reality.

"likewise" because you are likenesses of Christ.⁹

He bathed in the river Jordan and, after imparting the fragrance of His Godhead to the waters, came up from them. Him the Holy Spirit visited in essential presence, like resting¹⁰ upon like.¹¹ Similarly for you, after you had ascended from the sacred streams, there was an anointing with chrism, the antitype of that with which Christ was anointed,¹² that is, of the Holy Spirit. Concerning this Spirit the blessed Isaia, in the prophetic book which bears his name, said, speaking in the person of the Lord: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath anointed me. He hath sent me to preach glad tidings to the poor."¹³

(2) For Christ was not anointed by men with material oil or balsam; His Father, appointing Him Savior of the whole world, anointed Him with the Holy Spirit as Peter says: "Jesus

Gifford's gloss, "figure," therefore is too weak; but Touttée goes too far in saying that the antitype may be simply identical with its heavenly original. Even in the Eucharist (*Myst.* 5.20) "the antitype of the Body" seems not simply to identify the heavenly Body of Christ and its sacramental sign; the Presence is sacramental. For Irenaeus's usage, see *Adv. haer.* 4.17.5, 4.18.1-5, and fragment 13.

- 9 The chapter glides elusively from Baptism to Chrism. As partakers of Christ, they are "christs," but, since "Christ" is "anointed," they became christs not at Baptism but at Chrism. Yet in the pre-baptismal anointing (2.3) they became "partakers of Christ and His richness" and at Baptism (2.4, 5) they imitated and partook of His death, burial and resurrection. The author has, indeed, one more card to play; he can say (3.1, 2, 4) that, while at Baptism they imitated Christ's baptism, it is only in Chrismation that they received the "counterpart" ("antitype") of the Holy Spirit's subsequent descent upon Him. But since the descent of the Spirit manifested Christ's Messianic Sonship, and the candidates had already in Baptism (2.6) received adoptive sonship, it is a weak card; it involves separating adoption from the Spirit. So already in 3.1 the author begins to emphasize the *verbal* connection between christ-ening and chrism (anointing). Compare 3.5.

"Likewise": i.e., "iconically," i.e., as "images" of Christ, following in the footsteps of the leader and trail-blazer (*archēgos*, 3.7): the master theme of *Myst.* 2 and 3.

- 10 *Epanapauomenou*, found not at John 1.33, but at Luke 10.6 and Num. 11.25, 26.

11 Cf. Sir. 13.16.

12 Cf. Clem. Alex., *Paed.* 1.6.25.

13 Isa. 61.1.

of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit."¹⁴ The prophet David also made proclamation: "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a sceptre of uprightness. Thou hast loved justice, and hated iniquity: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."¹⁵

As Christ was really crucified and buried and rose again, and you at Baptism are privileged to be crucified, buried, and raised along with Him in a likeness, so also with the chrism. Christ was anointed with a mystical oil of gladness; that is, with the Holy Spirit, called "oil of gladness" because He is the cause of spiritual gladness; so you, being anointed with ointment, have become partakers and fellows of Christ.

(3) Beware of supposing that this ointment is mere ointment. Just as after the invocation of the Holy Spirit the eucharistic bread is no longer ordinary bread, but the Body of Christ, so this holy oil, in conjunction with the invocation,¹⁶ is no longer simple or common oil, but becomes the gracious gift of Christ and the Holy Spirit, producing the advent [presence?] of His deity.¹⁷ With this ointment your forehead

¹⁴ Cf. Acts 10.38.

¹⁵ Ps. 44 (45).7, 8: the anointing of the Messianic King; cf. 3.5 below.

¹⁶ The "with" (not "after") perhaps implies that the "invocation" (*epiklēsis*) is the accompanying prayer (the "form") and that the chrism does not owe its supernatural efficacy to a previous consecration by the Bishop. But one cannot be sure; see ApTrad 21.6-10, 19; 22.1-4. Note the analogy (not necessarily exact) drawn here (3.3) between the chrism and the Eucharistic elements.

¹⁷ See *Myst.* 2, n. 16. The text, translation and meaning of this very important sentence have been hotly debated. I read *parousias*, "of His advent/presence," following Piédagnel's text and the practically unanimous MS tradition. But this gives a rather difficult text (a plethora of genitives), so much so that the best earlier editors and interpreters (Milles, Toutté, Reischl-Rupp, F. L. Cross, supported by Dean Church, E. H. Gifford, Pusey, and Piédagnel in his translation) emended to *parousiāi* (dative), "by His advent producing His deity." But the MS text (genitive) gives the better sense; while a sacrament cannot produce a divine person or his deity, it can bring his advent/presence. The MS text could also be translated: "gift of Christ, working the advent of the Holy Ghost (of His deity)," and the rhythm favours this. My criterion was the reader's convenience; my translation gives a better indication of the various possible meanings of the sentence.

and sense organs are sacramentally anointed, in such wise that while your body is anointed with the visible oil, your soul is sanctified by the holy, quickening Spirit.¹⁸

(4) You are anointed first upon the forehead¹⁹ to rid you of the shame which the first human transgressor bore about with him everywhere; so you may "reflect as in a glass the

(See further the interesting but unreliable reading of MS *Monac.* 394.)

Gifford, reading *parousiāi*, translates: "and imparts (*Christ's*) divine nature by the advent of the Holy Ghost." This *interpretation* has something to be said for it. It explains "of His deity," since Christ has two natures. It is, moreover, supported by the Prayer for the consecration of the Chrism in ApCo 7.44: "Grant that this ointment may be made effectual to the baptized one, that the sweet savour of Christ (cf. *Myst.* 3.4) may remain in him and that, having died in Him, he may rise again and live with Him." Cf. also *Myst.* 3.2, end. It fits also the quite strong doctrine of Baptism in *Myst.* 2. Thus here (Gifford): "Chrism confirms the work of Baptism"—while indicating, we may add, the Eastern doctrine of post-baptismal progressive "divinization."

This may well have been the original import of the passage. But in the *Myst.* we are dealing with stratified literature of a date, presumably, when the enhanced prestige of the Holy Ghost, whose deity and consubstantiality were being emphasized, combined with the (late?) idea that it is chris-mation which christens, threw the earlier doctrine of initiation into confusion or seemed to put it in question. We may, therefore, have here a C doctrine superimposed on earlier formulas. Certainly Gifford's interpretation hardly does full justice to the context, in which the "parousia" of the Holy Ghost—"of His Deity" (an interpolation? the superimposed interpretation, exalting this Coming over "the gift of the Holy Ghost = Adoption" in 2.6—not a theologically possible distinction; see Appended note A)—is itself the main thing.

On this interpretation the intention of *Myst.* 3, esp. 3.3, is to exalt Chrism over Baptism. This is to attempt the impossible, even within the context of the *Myst.*, in view of all that is ascribed to Baptism in *Myst.* 2 and 3.5 and the denial (3.1) that in Chrism the Spirit visits the baptized *ousiōdēs*. (Nor can the Chrism, as Gifford suggests, impart Christ's divine nature, since this was given in Adoption.)

If this sentence, therefore, is to be harmonized with the rest of the *Myst.*, the gift of 3.3, however lofty, is but accessory and confirmatory of Baptism. The question also arises whether the graces listed in 3.4-7 are additional minor graces or whether they define the great grace mentioned in the problematic sentence. The immediate sequel of this sentence suggests the latter.

¹⁸ Cf. Tert., *Bapt.* 6.

¹⁹ With the sign of the Cross (the Western episcopal "consignatio"?), cf. Ps.-Dionysius, *Hier. eccl.* 2.2.7. In *Didasc. Ap.* and (women only) ApCo 3.15 the bishop anoints the head or forehead only, showing

splendor of the Lord.”²⁰ Then upon the ears, to receive ears quick to hear the divine mysteries, the ears of which Isaia said: “The Lord gave me also an ear to hear,”²¹ and the Lord Jesus in the Gospels: “He who has ears to hear, let him hear.”²² Then upon the nostrils, that, scenting the divine oil, you may say: “We are the incense offered by Christ to God, in the case of those who are on the way to salvation.”²³ Then on the breast, that “putting on the breastplate of justice you may be able to withstand the wiles of the Devil.”²⁴ For as Christ after His Baptism and the visitation of the Holy Spirit went forth and overthrew the adversary, so must you after holy Baptism and the mystical Chrism, clad in the armor of the Holy Spirit, stand firm against the forces of the Enemy and overthrow them, saying: “I can do all things in the Christ who strengthens me.”²⁵

(5) Once privileged to receive the holy Chrism, you are called Christians and have a name that bespeaks your new birth.²⁶ Before admission to Baptism and the grace of the Holy Spirit you were not strictly entitled to this name but were like people on the way towards being Christians.

(6) You must know that this Chrism is prefigured in the Old Testament. When Moses, conferring on his brother the divine appointment, was ordering him high priest, he anointed him after he had bathed in water, and thenceforward he was

its special importance. In *Myst.* it reverses the sign of Cain (Gen. 4.15).

20 2 Cor. 3.18.

21 Cf. Isa. 50.4.

22 Matt. 11.15.

23 2 Cor. 2.15.

24 Eph. 6.14, 11.

25 Phil. 4.13 in the version of, among others, Origen. The Chrism theory may have come to Antioch from Alexandria. Both Clement and Origen were strong on Chrism, and cf. the “Ointment” addition in Coptic *Did.* 10.8.

26 Did this verbal correspondence cause Chrismation to be originally chosen as the medium of the conveyance of the Spirit or only later suggest the connection of the Spirit with Chrismation and so confuse theology? In the next sentence “and” is missing in γ.

called "christ"²⁷ ["anointed"], clearly after the figurative²⁸ Chrism. Again, the high priest, when installing Solomon as king, anointed him after he had bathed in Gihon.²⁹ But what was done to them in figure was done to you, not in figure but in truth, because your salvation began from Him who was anointed by the Holy Spirit in truth. Christ is the beginning of your salvation, since He is truly the "first handful" of dough and you "the whole lump":³⁰ and if the first handful be holy, plainly its holiness will permeate the lump.

(7) Keep this Chrism unsullied; for it shall teach you all things if it abide in you, as you heard the blessed John declaring just now as he expatiated upon the Chrism.³¹ For this holy thing is both a heavenly protection of the body and salvation for the soul. It was of this anointing that in ancient times the blessed Isaia prophesied saying: "And the Lord shall make unto all people in this mountain" (elsewhere also he calls the Church a mountain, as when he says: "And in the last days the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest")³² ". . . and they shall drink wine, they shall drink gladness, they shall anoint themselves with ointment."³³ To alert you to the mystical meaning of "ointment" here, he says: "All this deliver to the nations: for the counsel of the Lord is upon all the nations."³⁴

Anointed, then, with this holy oil, keep it in you unsullied, without blame, making progress through good works and becoming well-pleasing to "the trail-blazer of our salvation,"³⁵ Christ Jesus, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.³⁶

²⁷ Lev. 8.5, 12; cf. 4.5.

²⁸ Gk.: "typical."

²⁹ 1 (3) Kings 1.38, 39.

³⁰ Cf. Rom. 11.16.

³¹ In the text lesson, 1 John 2.27.

³² Isa. 2.2. Such interrupted quotations occur in the Lenten Lectures.

³³ Isa. 5.6, Sept.

³⁴ Isa. 25.7, Sept.

³⁵ Heb. 2.10; 2 Cor. 5.9.

³⁶ *Myst.* 3 mentions neither Pentecost nor imposition of hands; *Cat.* 16.26 (end) suggests that the chrismation of the (fore)head (consignation) was equivalently a laying on of the hand.

TWO APPENDED NOTES ON BAPTISM AND CHRISM (CONFIRMATION) AT JERUSALEM

Appended Note A

Myst. 3.3: When is the Holy Spirit Given?

With *Myst. 3.3* compare Tert., *Bapt. 7-8*: “(After the Bath) we are anointed thoroughly with a blessed unction according to the ancient rule . . . The unction *runs bodily over us, but profits spiritually*. Next the hand is laid upon us, through the blessing calling upon and inviting the Holy Spirit.” B. Neunheuser remarks (*Baptism and Confirmation* 89) that if Tertullian really means what he says (cf. ch. 6), that the Holy Spirit is not given in *Baptism*, he stands in opposition to the universal early tradition.

St. Cyprian says several times that it is by the post-baptismal laying on of hands that the Holy Ghost is given. Besides *Ep. 73* (72).6 and 21, we read (*Ep. 74*[73].7): “A person is not *born* through the laying on of hands, when he receives the Holy Spirit, but in *Baptism*, that, born, he may *then* receive the Holy Spirit. Compare the case of the first man, Adam; God first formed him, and then breathed into his nostrils the breath of life (Gen. 2.7). For before the spirit can be received there must be something there to receive it.” There could hardly be a stronger statement of the C theory (see above, p. 160), for Cyprian here implies that the New Creation produced by Baptism is not quickened—has no supernatural life—until a further sacrament follows. (Certainly it is the Spirit who quickens, but He does so in Baptism.) Yet in *Ep. 73* (72).12 Cyprian can say that Baptism confers the remission of sins, that remission of sins entails sanctification, and “if he was sanctified, he was made the temple of God”—without receiving the Holy Spirit? The context excludes the possibility that Cyprian was using the word “Baptism” in the broad sense. When Cyprian reserves the gift of the Spirit to imposition of hands, one often feels that he is accepting, for argument’s sake, premisses which are not quite his own (and perhaps not Stephen’s either).

Ca. 252 Cornelius of Rome (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.43.14) complained that the anti-Pope Fabian had not received the Spirit because, after a clinical Baptism, he had not bothered to receive the ordinary additional ceremonies, especially the sealing by the bishop. Apparently against this position Cyprian (*Ep. 69*[75].13-14) asserts that clinical Baptism *bestows the Holy Spirit in the same fullness* that ordinary Baptism does. And his whole position, asserting against St. Stephen of Rome the invalidity of heretical schismatic Baptism,

is based on his emphasis upon the intimate association of the Holy Spirit with Baptism as at least its agent. M. J. Rouët de Journal, *Enchiridion patristicum* (20th ed. Freiburg im B. etc. 1958) 795 (under the thesis "Confirmatio est verum sacramentum"), is, I think, right in his judgment that Cyprian held that Confirmation is a sacrament (a vague word in Cyprian) but did not hold that it is necessary to salvation. This is still the Roman position (Canon 787). The explanation of Cyprian's contradictions is probably that, though misled in such passages as *Ep.* 74 (73).7 (above) by the phrase "the gift of the Spirit," which sounds like a greater grace than any of the Spirit's gifts or graces, yet in his deepest thinking he knew that the grace of Baptism was greater than that of Confirmation. So in *Ep.* 74 (73).5, arguing against Pope Stephen, who refused to rebaptize those who came to the Church after receiving heretical Baptism but only imposed hands to bestow the Spirit, he writes (again, incidentally, implying that Baptism makes one a temple of God): "If a man born (i.e., baptized) outside the Church can become God's temple, why cannot further the Holy Spirit be poured out upon the temple? For when sanctified . . . and spiritually recreated a new man, a person is fitted for the reception of the Spirit . . . If a person baptized among heretics can put on Christ, *much more* can he receive the Spirit whom Christ sent. Otherwise he who is sent will be greater than he who sends. . . As if it were possible either for Christ to be put on without the Spirit or for the Spirit to be separated from Christ." That is, the position attacked implies an Ebionite Christology.

The *De rebaptismate* (A.D. ca. 256) defended the validity of schismatic Baptism "by a very peculiar and unfortunate distinction between Baptism of water and Baptism of the Spirit to be conferred by the bishop's imposition of hands" (Quasten, *Patrology* II 368).

Let us now return to *Myst.* 3.3, careful to distinguish the questions what is the right answer to this problem and what is the teaching of the *Mystagogiae*. The author of the *Mystagogiae* is forced by his chosen typology here unduly to exalt Chrism against Baptism (see *Myst.* 2 n. 10). Where he ought (*I* think) to say that Christ's washing in Jordan corresponds to the sacrament of Baptism, that the descent of the Spirit corresponds to the grace of Baptism (forgiveness of sins and Sonship) and that the Voice and the Dove are but the visibilization of this grace, he has chosen to regard the washing in Jordan and the descent of the Spirit as two successive historical events on the same plane. If they are to be correlated with Baptism and Chrism/Confirmation, the only solution seems to be to say that Baptism gives forgiveness of sins, while Chrism gives the Spirit, or (like the *De rebaptismate*) to correlate the two events with Baptism of water and Baptism of the Spirit (and reinterpret John 3.5 accordingly). *Myst.* 3 avoids such a drastic

solution. Still it must say that at Chrism the Holy Spirit descends; He "is given." But we saw (*Myst.* 2 n. 16) that at 2.6 *Baptism* bestowed "the gift of the Spirit (=Adoption)." Still perhaps "upon this gift (of Adoption) by the Spirit now comes the gift of the Spirit in Chrismation"? In a sense. But, first, this distinction is bogus. Whenever the Holy Spirit gives any grace, He does so by descending, by coming; He can do no other. Second, the Spirit is never, strictly, "given" to us; we do not possess Him, but He us; and He possesses us through the grace of Adoption. Third, we need to correct our semantic or lexical values: "the gift of the Spirit" in the New Testament is not, commonly, a stronger phrase than such descriptions of the benefits of Baptism as regeneration, adoption of sons, new creation, etc. On the contrary, the "giving of the Spirit" often denotes such inessential graces as charismata, speaking with tongues, working miracles, etc.; see Acts *passim*. This seems to be the regular usage of Cyril's Lenten Lectures. The Mystagogical Lectures seem to agree. Not only do the *Mystagogiae* (2.6) ascribe to Baptism the supreme gifts of regeneration, the putting on of Christ and Adoption, but in 3.1 they three times sharply distinguish the grace of Chrism from the Spirit's descent *ousiōdēs* upon Christ, twice by saying that the candidates received only the antitype of the Holy Ghost, and further by the phrase "in likeness" (*eikonikōs*).

Similarly there is a sense in which Chrism *does* give "the fullness" of the Spirit; probably *Myst.* 3.3 has in mind the permanent "indwelling" of the Spirit in us (cf. "resting" in 3.1). Naturally (Basil, *Hom. in Ps.* 44. PG 29.405A), since Chrism follows Baptism, it must mark some advance upon it. But this is compatible with giving the essential and supreme gift in Baptism. Chrism completes, confirms and tops off what has been done, like a dash of an additive in the fuel tank. To improve Cyprian's regrettable analogy with Adam: you must have a car, and a tank with fuel in it before there is any point in introducing the additive; or we may say that Confirmation gives a (permanent) "overdrive."

But the Chrism of *Myst.* gives rather more than this. Apart from (or included in) the important grace (*Myst.* 3.3) which we have tried to assess, it is almost certainly in Chrism (4.7; cf. 2 Cor. 1.22?) that the Seal is given (contrast *Cat.* 3.4), though the word used in 4.7 is *elaion*. The "Seal," however, is a variable quantity. It may mean the great eschatological seal, or a writer may mean that the document (covenant) is not valid until the seal has been affixed, or this may be thought of as a desirable but not essential formality, or the Seal may be thought of merely as the securing of the sanctified soul against unlawful entry by the powers of evil.

Again, the Chrism sanctifies the senses (3.4), makes us incontestably Christians, enables us to do battle with the Enemy (3.5), and confers (3.6) "lay ordination," participation in Christ's royal

priesthood, so important in Eastern Christendom (N. Zernov, *Eastern Christendom* [New York 1961] 250).

Appended Note B

The Doctrine of Baptism in the Lenten Lectures

On the whole, the Lectures on the Mysteries teach the B theory (see above, p. 160). For, while they correlate Chrism certainly with the descent of the Spirit, almost certainly with the Seal, and probably with the indwelling of the Spirit, yet they do not seem to regard any of these as privileged categories and therefore they do not seem to exalt Chrism over against Baptism. The Seal is mentioned casually only in *Myst.* 4.7. To Baptism they ascribe forgiveness of sins, the putting on of Christ, regeneration (3.5), participation in Christ's Passion, and "the gift of the Spirit" in the sense of adoptive sonship (2.6).

The opening lectures in the Lenten series teach a very decided B theory, but there are a few passages in the later lectures which perhaps require a (drastic?) modification of the impression left by the early lectures. In the opening lectures it is clear that practically everything is mediated by "the water," and if St. Cyril ever here has any other ceremony in mind, he clearly regards it as supplementary and secondary. But while the two series are thus not very far apart in doctrine, they differ markedly in their biblical exegesis and typology or, as we perhaps may here more appropriately call it, christ-iconology.

For the most part the Lenten Lectures know no distinction between the Spirit as gift and His sanctifying, transforming and recreating activity. When in some later passages such a distinction is implied, the gift of the Spirit (objective, defining genitive) seems to be a *weaker* phrase than the gift (=grace) of the Spirit. In *Procat.* 2A and 4E the Spirit acts through the water. (For the use of the letters A, B, C, D, E, see above, p. 149.) "The reception of the Holy Ghost" in *Cat.* 3.2B is clearly the same thing as acceptance by the Holy Ghost in *Procat.* 4E and the "reception of the grace" in *Cat.* 3.7E. The "grace" or "gift" (usually *charis*, less often *charisma*; in *Cat.* 1.4E *dōrea*) is the commonest and apparently all-inclusive term (especially) in these opening lectures. It is normally thought of as the gift or grace of the Spirit as agent but with no hint of a contrast with the Spirit Himself as gift. And it is clear that this gift is mediated by water. Sometimes this is said explicitly or unmistakably implied (e.g., *Procat.* 2A, 15C; *Cat.* 3.3D, 4C), and it is consistently implied by the very frequent references to "the water" or "the laver." Note especially

3.3-5, with the praise of water in 3.5; also the passages about Simon Magus's baptism, invalid from the first through lack of proper intention (*Procat.* 2A, 4E; cf. *Cat.* 3.7D; 17.35-36; in 17.35 the Spirit seals the soul even, apparently, when a deacon baptizes). Again, water is mentioned in the more or less immediate vicinity of all the great gifts of Baptism: adoption, new birth, new life, union with Christ, the Seal etc.

In the Lenten Lectures (contrast *Myst.* 4.7), the Seal is certainly given through the water. *Cat.* 1.2C, 3D; and 3.3B are most naturally read in this sense, and it is actually said twice in 3.4, once equivalently: "As the water purifies the body, so the Spirit seals the soul," where the two actions are clearly parallel and the dualism is that of inner and outer, of sacramental sign and spiritual grace; once explicitly: "the seal (conveyed) by water." *Cat.* 5.6D, though not strictly explicit, is equally clear. The Lenten Lectures (4.17A) connect the Seal with the credal profession and so with the baptismal contract or covenant.

Another, equally important and significant, difference from the Mystagogical Lectures is the fact that, while the Mystagogical Lectures (3.1CD, cf. 4E) regard the descent of the Spirit upon Our Lord by the Jordan as an event different from and subsequent to His baptism, and as typifying a different sacrament (Chrism), in the parallel passages in the Lenten Lectures the Holy Spirit descends upon Jesus *while* John is baptizing Him. For in *Cat.* 17.9A the Greek has two present participles: "This Holy Ghost came down while the Lord was being baptized, that the dignity of Him who was being baptized might not pass unnoticed"; and the context shows that "baptism" is water-baptism. So also probably 3.14C: "that John, who *was baptizing* Him (*ho baptizōn*) might see (the Spirit in the form of a dove)." (Incidentally, such passages as 3.6A, 7A, 11A, 14; 17.9A, establishing a close connection between John's Baptism and Christian Baptism, show that St. Cyril regarded the physical rite in the two baptisms as the same, and therefore prove that "Baptism" in the Lenten Lectures regularly means water-baptism.) Thus, whereas in the *Mystagogiae* (3.4DE) Jesus, and Christians after Him, give battle to Satan, not immediately after Baptism, but only after the descent of the Spirit regarded as a second event (=Chrism), in the Lenten Lectures (3.11-13, cf. *Procat.* 10, 16BE) Jesus overcomes the Dragon and binds "the Strong One" in the water and preaches immediately afterwards, while the candidates likewise receive their armour from the pre-baptismal teaching and from Baptism, after which they fight and preach (*Procat.* 10; *Cat.* 1.4; 3.13-14).

Another striking difference between the typology of the Mystagogical and the Lenten Lectures is that, while the *Mystagogiae* are as enigmatically silent about Pentecost as they are about

John the Baptist and John 3.3-5, in the Lenten Lectures Pentecost is the fulfillment and realization of the promise implicit in John's baptism and is the Baptism of the Apostles. See *Cat.* 3.9 (cf. 3.15D) and the fine account (17.13-15, 19) where the Pentecostal baptismal flames which enveloped the Apostles are interpreted as "spiritual" (*noētou*) water and are compared with the waters which encompassed and whelmed the candidates when they "submerged" in the font. The fire/water burns away sin and "further" (*eti*) burnishes the soul and imparts to it *charis* (grace, beauty).

A comparable difference between the two series concerns the Aaronic priesthood. In *Myst.* 3.6 Aaron and Solomon together are the prefiguring type of the royal priesthood which is bestowed on the candidates by the chrismation. Both Aaron and Solomon are said to have first bathed and then been anointed respectively priest and king. In the Lenten Lectures, by contrast, Solomon appears only as an example of a penitent (2.13), and "Aaron was first washed, then became high priest" (3.5E)—no anointing. Moreover in the Lenten Lectures Aaron is a type of Christ's high priesthood in which the ordinary faithful do not partake. For in 3.5E the High Priest "prays for the rest" (cf. Our Lord's intercessory priesthood in Hebrews). So in 10.11, the Lord "is called Christ (anointed), because He is a Priest. . . For Christ is a High Priest like Aaron" (cf. Eus., *Hist. eccl.* 1.3). If there is any reference to the New Covenant in 10.11, 14 and 11.1, it is apparently the ordained ministers of the Church who partake, imperfectly, of Christ's priesthood after ordination by anointing. Apart from 18.33, the Lenten Lectures apparently know nothing of a "priesthood of all believers" bestowed by Chrismation; believers are Christians not Christs. Perhaps *Cat.* 10.16 changes this picture. There all believers have the "new name"; i.e., they are called "Christians" after "Christ" meaning priest king. As, however, it is not inferred that Christians share in the priestly rulership of their Lord, this may be a transitional passage. In *Procat.* 6 the divine name bestowed in Baptism is "faithful" (*pistos*).

Finally, John 3.3-5 and Acts 2.38 are always interpreted in the Lenten Lectures in the B sense. And normally the Lenten Lectures associate together as inseparable all the great graces of Baptism and connect them with the water. For example, in *Cat.* 1.1-2 the cleansing by water seems inseparable from the new birth, adoption, the mystical Seal, the opening of the gates of Paradise and the singing of the bridal song. Similarly in 3.1-3 the washing clean from sin in the laver seems inseparable from "the reception of the Holy Ghost," introduction into the bridal chamber of the King and the bestowal of the Seal.

Now, however, we must consider briefly a few passages of a very different tenor towards the end of the Lenten Lectures. According

to *Cat.* 14.25E (after mention of Elia and Eliseus), Christ bestowed the Spirit upon His disciples (the Apostles?) in such fullness as to enable them "by the laying on of their *hands* to impart the fellowship of It to believers." In 17.25 we are told of the visit of Peter and John to Samaria and how they imparted the fellowship of the Holy Ghost "with prayer and the imposition of hands" to Philip's new converts (cf. Acts 8.14-17). Nothing, however, is made of the fact that Philip was a mere deacon, nor is Baptism explicitly mentioned.

But the crucial passage is *Cat.* 16.26E, for in the above passages the candidates are not brought into the picture. After a discussion of the Seventy Elders (with Eldad and Medad) (Num. 11.24-30), a reference to Deut. 34.9 and the statement that Num. 11.29 was "fulfilled" at Pentecost, we read:

Thou seest the same figure everywhere in the Old and New Testaments. In the time of Moses the Spirit was given by the laying on of hands (*cheirothesia*), and by the laying on of hands Peter also gives the Spirit [Acts 8.17]. Upon thee also, the baptizand, soon shall the grace come. But just how, I am not telling you now, for I won't anticipate "the proper season."

It looks as if the baptizand will receive the Spirit by some form of imposition of hands (chrismation? consignation?). *Cheirothesia* in ApCo 2.32.3 is consignation; in 3.16.3 it confers the royal priesthood as in *Myst.* 3.6; in 7.44.3 it distinguishes Christian from Jewish baptism; but see also Serapion, *Euchologion* 15, title.

Do these texts transform the whole picture sketched above? They would if that picture had relied on silence instead of on positive texts. Is interpolation at 16.26E a possibility? It has apparently occurred in the "consubstantial" insertion in some manuscripts at 16.24C. And note the repetition (16.26C, 27A) of "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob." *Cat.* 16.27 could follow naturally on 16.25. Again, 16.11-12 strongly suggests that the Holy Ghost is given through water, and 16.12C seems to mean that the candidates are prepared by their Lenten repentance for the Holy Spirit whom they will receive in the water.

But probably the Lenten Lectures are "stratified"; i.e., they contain some additions by Cyril, or possibly by another hand. Another example may be the *hieratikōs* ("like priests") in 18.33C; 18.33 looks rather like a later doublet of 18.32, the latter representing a period when there was no Easter Week catechizing.

FOURTH LECTURE ON THE MYSTERIES

The Eucharist (I): The Body and Blood of Christ

*"For I myself received from the Lord the traditions which in turn I passed on to you. . . ."*¹

(1) The teaching of the blessed Paul is of itself sufficient to give you full assurance about the divine mysteries by admission to which you have become one body and blood with Christ. For Paul just now proclaimed "that on the night in which he was betrayed our Lord Jesus Christ took bread and, after giving thanks, broke it and gave it to his disciples saying, 'Take, eat: this is my body'; then, taking the cup, he gave thanks and said, 'Take, drink: this is my blood.'"² When the Master himself has explicitly said of the bread, "This is my body," will anyone still dare to doubt? When He is Himself our warranty, saying, "This is my blood," who will ever waver and say it is not His Blood?

(2) Once at Cana in Galilee He changed water into wine³ by His sovereign will; is it not credible, then, that He changed wine into blood? If as a guest at a physical marriage He performed this stupendous miracle, shall He not far more readily be confessed to have bestowed on "the friends of the bridegroom"⁴ the fruition of His own Body and Blood?

(3) With perfect confidence, then, we partake as of the Body and Blood of Christ. For in the figure⁵ of bread His

¹ 1 Cor. 11.23ff.

² Cf. 1 Cor. 11.23-25; Matt. 26.26.

³ Cf. John 2.1-11.

⁴ Matt. 9.15 (paraphrase).

⁵ *Typos*: but a sacramental figure (sign) makes present according to context its corresponding heavenly reality or its saving power. Cf.

Body is given to you, and in the figure of wine His Blood, that by partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ you may become of one body and blood with Him. For when His Body and Blood become the tissue of our members, we become Christ-bearers and as the blessed Peter said, "partakers of the divine nature."⁶

(4) Once, speaking to the Jews, Christ said: "Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you can have no life in you." Not understanding His words spiritually, they "were shocked and drew back," imagining that He was proposing the eating of human flesh.⁷

(5) The Old Covenant had its loaves of proposition,⁸ but they, as belonging to the Covenant, have come to an end. The New Covenant has its heavenly bread and cup of salvation, to sanctify both body and soul. For as the bread is for the body, the Word suits the soul.⁹

"figuratively" and "figurative chrism" in 3.6; but those are Old Covenant signs. In the New Covenant figure or sacramental sign its correlative reality is conveyed ("given").

6 2 Peter 1.4.

7 *Sarkophagia*: "cannibalism"? Cf. John 6.53, 60, 66.

8 Cf. Lev. 24.5-9, etc.

9 *Either* (a) with Touttée: the "word" (*logos*) is the eternal Word which feeds the soul. But (i) there is no expressed contextual background for this. (ii) Where, then, do the Body and Blood come in (though, granted, in 4.3 these sanctify our members)? (iii) In 5.15 the "essential" or "superessential" Bread is "appointed for the soul." (iv) The Thomistic doctrine of the presence of the Word by concomitance, though perhaps vaguely assumed, is not mentioned. *Or* (b): While the data are too sparse to permit a confident solution, probably the "word" is the word of the preaching correlative to faith and contemplation, together with the consecratory word of the Invocation. This is the ordinary dualism of both the Lenten and the Mystagogical Lectures. Compare *Procat.* 2; *Cat.* 3.3, 4, 12A; *Myst.* 1.7; 3.3; 4.3; 5.7. In the Greek Fathers, especially in those of the Alexandrian tradition, it is knowledge, contemplation, instruction which are the true food, the food of the soul. This suggests the Word (which is not excluded), but it is the Body itself that is in the foreground and is the heavenly Bread, feeding the soul. The bread is made the heavenly Bread by the word of Invocation. Cf. Iren. *Adv. haer.* 4.18.5: "For as the bread from the earth, after receiving the Invocation, is no longer common bread (cf. *Myst.* 4.6), but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities (*pragmata*), an earthly and a heavenly. . . ." Cf. the Prayer in the Liturgy of St. James (Dix 192)

(6) Do not then think of the elements as bare bread and wine; they are, according to the Lord's declaration, the Body and Blood of Christ. Though sense suggests the contrary, let faith be your stay. Instead of judging the matter by taste, let faith give you an unwavering confidence that you have been privileged to receive the Body and Blood of Christ.

(7) The blessed David is hinting to you the meaning¹⁰ of these rites when he says, "You have prepared a table before me, against those who oppress me."¹¹ What he means is this: "Before your coming the devils prepared a table for mankind, a table defiled and polluted, impregnated with diabolical power; but since your coming, Lord, you have prepared a table in my presence." When man says to God, "You have prepared a table before me," what else does he refer to but the mystical and spiritual table which God has prepared for us "over against," meaning "arrayed against and opposed to,"

that the consecrated bread and cup may be "unto the hallowing of souls and bodies." Cf. Justin, *1 Apol.* 66. Compare (and contrast) perhaps the nearest parallel, Clem. Alex., *Paed.* 2.1-2: "The blood of the Lord is twofold . . . The mixture of . . . the water and the word (Word?) is called Eucharist . . . They who by faith partake of it are sanctified both in body and in soul"; cf. *ibid.* 2.1: "The divine food is the contemplation of true reality." It is because the soul is incorporeal and *rational* (*logikos*) that it is fed by the word (*logos*), while bodies are composed of the four elements and consequently are fed by bread; cf. Nemesius of Emesa, *The Nature of Man* 2 (Eng. trans., Telfer, p. 228); 12 (Telfer, p. 264): "The soul's nourishment is learning." Cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 6.14, *ad fin.*: ". . . regarding nothing bad but ignorance and action contrary to right reason (*logos*)," and 5.10, end, where "the meat of the full-grown" is "mystic contemplation, for this is the flesh and blood of the Word, that is, the comprehension of the divine power and essence. 'Taste and see. . . ' (cf. *Myst.* 5.20)"; in those who eat spiritually "the soul now nourishes itself." But it is easier to say what such language originally meant than what it actually means in the jejune (emasculated? mutilated?) form in which it appears in *Myst.* 4.5. In any case the two interpretations, (a) and (b) are complementary, since in Alexandrian theology the apprehension of the Logos through teaching and contemplation was not unrelated to sacramental communion, but provided its wider context.

¹⁰ Or "efficacy," "virtue."

¹¹ Ps. 22 (23).5, Sept.

the evil spirits? And very aptly: for that table gave communion with devils, while this gives communion with God.

"You have anointed my head with oil."¹² He has anointed your head with oil upon your forehead, meaning the seal which you have of God, that you may be made "the engraving of the signet,"¹³ that is, the sanctuary of God.

"Your chalice, also, which inebriates me, how goodly is it!"¹⁴ You see here spoken of the chalice which Jesus took in His hands and of which, after giving thanks, he said: "This is my blood shed for many for the forgiveness of sins."¹⁵

(8) For this reason Solomon also, in Ecclesiastes, covertly alluding to this grace, says: "Come hither, eat your bread with joy,"¹⁶ that is, the mystical bread. "Come hither," he calls: a saving, beatific call. "And drink your wine with a merry heart": that is, the mystical wine. "And let oil be poured out upon your head": you see how he hints also of the mystical chrism. "And at all times let your garments be white, because the Lord approves what you do."¹⁷ It is now that the Lord approves what you do; for before you came to the grace your doings were "vanity of vanities."¹⁸

Now that you have put off your old garments and put on those which are spiritually white, you must go clad in white all your days.¹⁹ I do not, of course, mean that your ordinary clothes must always be white, but that you must be clad in those true, spiritual garments which are white and shining. Then you will be able to say with the blessed Isaia: "Let my soul rejoice in the Lord; for he has dressed me in the gar-

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Cf. Exod. 28.36, Sept.; Sir. 45.12.

¹⁴ Ps. 22 (23).5, Sept.

¹⁵ Matt. 26.28.

¹⁶ Eccles. 9.7-8.

¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁸ Eccles. 1.2.

¹⁹ After Baptism the candidates put on new, white garments, symbolizing the putting on of the New Man, and wore them throughout Easter Week. Cf. 1.10.

ments of salvation, and with the robe of gladness he has clothed me.”²⁰

(9) In this knowledge, and in the firm conviction that the bread which is seen is not bread,²¹ though it is bread to the

²⁰ Isa. 61.10.

²¹ (*Ho phainomenos artos*) Rather than “what seems bread” or “the seeming bread.” The *Myst.* unequivocally teach the Real Presence, but they are vague about the mode of the presence and the way in which it is brought about (e.g., by transubstantiation). One cannot press *either* the analogies with the merely qualitative change effected by the *epiklēsis* (invocation) in the baptismal water, the chrism or food offered to idols (*Cat.* 3.3; *Myst.* 1.7; 2.3; 3.3, cf. 5.7) or the analogy with Cana (4.3), especially as the miracle there was not a case of “transubstantiation,” since the appearance (“accidents”), as well as the substance of the water, was changed. The mark of transubstantiation is that the substance of the bread, instead of remaining as the sacramental mediating sign of the Body of Christ, ceases to exist, being changed into that Body. *Phainomenos artos* (4.9) could mean “what seems bread,” but consider the other relevant passages—the repeated denial that the bread (and water and oil) is “mere, bare, common or ordinary (*litos, psilos, koinos*) bread” (1.7; 3.3, 6) (which implies it is bread), and the description of the bread as the “antitypical Body” (5.20; cf. note 17 on “antitype” at 2.6). Again at 4.3, “in the figure of bread is given to thee His Body,” Touttée’s transubstantiationist thesis leads him into the absurdity of arguing that “figure” (*typos*) means “semblance” (Diss. 3, cap. 11, n. 83: PG 33.265-266). But obviously the genitive is defining; the bread *is* the figure, the figure of the Body of Christ. Similarly what is meant here (4.9) is that “the bread that is seen with the eyes of the body” is not “*really*” bread by comparison with the true, heavenly Bread which it signifies and makes sacramentally present; it is not denied that it is, at its own lowly level, bread. The thought-category is that of the early Platonic doctrine of ideas or forms, in which earthly, sensible things are mere imperfect copies of the archetypal heavenly realities; it is these latter that are “really real.” So, too, the Fathers say that the baptized, or monks, are “not men, but angels.” Certainly this (“visible, sensible”) is the usual meaning of *phainomenos* in Cyril. Cp. “the visibly lame” in *Cat.* 10.13. The *Sermon* provides some remarkable analogies. There (9) the paralytic is addressed: “Why await the *visible* (*ph.*) motion of the waters? . . . Glimpsing God visible in the flesh, attend not to the *visible* (man) but to the God who works through the *visible* man.” Similarly (5) Cyril equivalently says that it was not the two blind men but the Pharisees who were “really” blind. So (6) immediately after telling the paralytic that he has Christ, he tells him that he “has no man” and continues: “God you have . . . One who is both God and man under different aspects (*kata ti . . . kata ti*).” Probably in this last phrase—and cf. Cyril’s statement (*Cat.* 4.9) that “Christ was twofold (*diplos*)” and 15.1, “All things are twofold in . . . Christ”—we have the clue to the Eucharistic theology of the *Myst.* Its model is christological: either as

taste, but the Body of Christ, and that the visible wine is not wine, though taste will have it so, but the Blood of Christ; and that it was of this that David sang of old: "Bread strengthens the heart of man, soon his face glistens joyously with oil,"²² strengthen your heart, partaking of this Bread as spiritual, and make cheerful the face of your soul. God grant that, your soul's face unveiled with a clear conscience, you may "reflecting as in a glass the glory of the Lord," go "from glory to glory"²³ in Christ Jesus our Lord, whose is the glory forever and ever. Amen.

Appended Note C

The Doctrine in the Mystagogical Lectures on the Eucharistic Presence

Two early Reformed theologians, Aubertin and Rivetus, interpreted the Eucharistic teaching of the Mystagogical Lectures in a way which, though inadequate, will reward the attention of the student. I shall therefore first summarize their interpretation as presented by Touttée and then make the necessary adjustments in a Catholic sense. Their interpretation is as follows.

While the Mystagogical Lectures recognize a real, spiritual (but not substantial) presence of Christ in the Eucharistic action, they

the Word "became" flesh without ceasing to be the Word or (better) the mysterious coexistence, co-presence of two natures, a lower and a more exalted, in Christ. This interpretation accords well with the "dualism" of sacramental sign (water, oil, bread) and spiritual, supernatural reality which pervades the sacramental teaching of both the Lenten and the Mystagogical Lectures. Their viewpoint is pre-Scholastic: somewhat fluid and imprecise. Much earlier St. Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 4.18.5) stated this simple "dualism" of earthly and heavenly: "For as the bread from the earth, after receiving the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, an earthly and a heavenly. . . ." That the model of the *Myst.* is christological is made practically certain by the parallel language in the Lenten Lectures, where Cyril repeatedly emphasizes (12.1; 13.2, 3, 33) that Christ is "not a mere (*psilos*) man." Cf. also the "*phainomenos* darkness" of *Myst.* 1.4.

²² Ps. 103 (104).15, Sept.

²³ Cf. 2 Cor. 3.18.

view this presence dynamically and in terms of the benefit (spiritual effect) of the sacrament: that is, the devout believer's spiritual communion with Christ and, through his continued eating, his ever-deepening mystical union with Him. References to the Bread and Wine being and becoming the Body and Blood of Christ are only symbolic, the language of signs and symbols which is appropriate to sacraments. The Mystagogical Lectures apply to the sacramental signs language strictly appropriate only to the reality (the spiritual benefit) which they signify and convey. In Holy Communion we spiritually partake of the Lord's Body and Blood in the sense that we gain the benefits of His Body broken and His Blood shed for us and are vouchsafed fellowship with God. Thus the consecrated Bread is the symbol or sacrament of the Body of Christ, or is the mystical Body of Christ; it become the efficacious figure of Christ's Body insofar as it mediates the grace of His Passion. Lest the illustration from the miracle at Cana should mislead the audience, they are immediately warned (4.4) that they do not literally eat Christ's flesh (*sarkophagia*) but that the eating spoken of is spiritual, that (4.7) it is a mystical and spiritual Table to which they are invited, and (4.9) that they must "partake thereof as spiritual." In spite of some rhetorical flights the *Mystagogiae* have no serious doctrine of a "res et sacramentum." In all three sacraments the *Mystagogiae* know only two things: the sacramental sign and the grace-effect of the sacrament. It is true that they speak of the bread as being "changed," but not every change is substantial. In 5.7 it is said that "*everything* that the Holy Spirit touches is sanctified and changed." That "changed" is here defined more precisely by "sanctified" is clear from the numerous passages (*Cat.* 3.3-4; *Myst.* 1.7; 3.3) implying that the changes effected by the consecration in the baptismal water, the chrism, and the eucharistic bread and wine are all of the same kind. It is a qualitative, not substantial, change and is compared to the change effected in meat when offered to idols. The illustration from Cana, therefore, is only intended to prove that He who changed the water substantially and sensibly can also change the wine sacramentally. Again, the warning in *Myst.* 4.6 not to regard the consecrated eucharistic elements as "bare" is exactly parallel to the warning in 3.3 not to regard the consecrated ointment as "bare." In no case is the change effected by the consecration substantial or "physical"; the sacramental elements are "changed" only in the sense that the consecration makes them God's instruments and imparts to them a spiritual or mystic power through which they impart to us the precious gifts promised by the Gospel. It is true that 4.9 says that the Bread is not bread, except to the taste; yet six times *Myst.* 4 calls it bread, and, after the statements in 3.3 that it is "not plain bread" or "bare bread," the 4.9 passage is clearly a metaphor or hyperbole. The comparison with the consecrated ointment in 3.3

is clearly the decisive passage, especially when taken in conjunction with the other parallels. The *Mystagogiae* speak indeed (4.3 and 5; 5.15) of the Body of Christ being "distributed through" or "assimilated into" our members and sanctifying not only our soul but our body, but they speak of the baptismal water and the chrism in exactly the same way: in *Cat.* 3.3-4 Cyril speaks of the water as purifying the body and enabling "the body also to partake of the Grace," while *Myst.* 3.4 and 7 describe the chrism as "a spiritual preservative of the body" and use of it language applicable only to the Holy Spirit whom it conveys.

The lectures are, indeed, somewhat inconsistent, but they are consistently inconsistent. To cite a parallel, the *Mystagogiae* (3.2) speak of the chrism as mere material ointment and as being only the "antitype" of the Holy Ghost, with whom Christ was anointed, and yet they go on (3.3, 4, 7) to identify it with the Holy Ghost, or at least to attribute to it sanctifying power, and even say (3.6) that the newly baptized were, after all, "truly anointed by the Holy Ghost." Similarly, *Cat.* 3.3-4 speaks of the baptismal water as a material element affecting only the body and yet also speaks of it as sanctifying and sealing the soul. In just the same way the *Mystagogiae* speak of the eucharistic Bread as the Body of Christ and yet also speak of it (4.5) as a material element affecting only our body: "for as bread answers to the body, so is the Word appropriate to the soul." In each case the material element sacramentally mediates a divine grace which sanctifies the soul. Such "strong" passages, therefore, as 4.3 and 6 about the eucharistic Bread are entirely analogous (1) to what is said in *Cat.* 3.3-4 about the baptismal water: "Regard not the Bath as simple water, but rather regard the spiritual grace that is given with the water. . . . For since man is body and soul . . . the water cleanses the body and the Spirit seals the soul. . . . When going down, therefore, into the water, regard not the bare element. . . ."; and (2) to what is said in *Myst.* 3.3 about the Chrism: "But beware of supposing this to be plain ointment. For as the bread. . . , (so the ointment after the invocation becomes Christ's divinizing grace)," for "while your body is anointed with visible ointment, your soul is sanctified by the holy, life-giving Spirit." Again, there is the use of the word "antitype." *Myst.* 5.20 speaks of the Bread and Wine as "the antitype of the (or "the antitypical") Body and Blood of Christ." Now, only thrice elsewhere do the *Mystagogical* Lectures use the word "antitype": in 2.6 and twice in 3.1: and always in contrast with the archetype or original, though with reference to the spiritual grace conveyed through the sacramental symbol. Baptism (2.4-7) is the antitype of Christ's Passion, because our sacramental imitation of His death and resurrection mediates for us the fruits of the Redemption. Then in 3.1 the Chrism is twice called the antitype of the Holy Spirit, and is *contrasted* with Him; and yet in 3.7 it is

identified with the Holy Spirit: "It shall teach you all things if It abides in you." Finally, there is the absurdity that if we take *Myst.* 4 literally, then we must, in logic, take literally the statement in 5.10 that in the Eucharist "we offer Christ slain in sacrifice," where the perfect participle suggests that "slain" represents a present state; then Holy Communion would indeed be a gruesome banquet (but see n. 33 there).

Now let us make the necessary adjustments. It is clear that the *Mystagogiae* conceive the Presence, not as merely virtual or dynamic, but in the traditional Catholic sense. For (a) neither the Lenten nor the Mystagogical Lectures ever say that the baptismal water actually becomes or is "the grace" which it imparts. (b) There is a closer analogy with Chrism. The Holy Spirit does seem to be conceived as actually "arriving" in person in His "antitype." (c) The parallels drawn between the Bread and the water and ointment show (i) an analogy in the mode of consecration (by invocation) and (ii) that in each case the element is changed. But it remains to inquire into the nature of the change in each case. And the *Mystagogiae* speak of the Bread in a way which contrasts with its language about the water and the Chrism; they say repeatedly and with the utmost emphasis that it becomes and is the Body of Christ. Moreover (4.3) "in the figure (the Bread) the Body is *given* to thee." (d) Finally the denial (4.6) that the bread is *psilos* (mere, bare bread) both proves the real Presence and shows how the *Mystagogiae* conceive it. The Lenten Lectures provide the key. In *Cat.* 4.9 Cyril says that "Christ is double" (cf. 15.1) and in 12.1; in 13.2, 3, 33 he says that Christ is not a mere (*psilos*) man, since He is also God. Thus the model of the Jerusalem doctrine of the Eucharistic presence is christological. This, while excluding transubstantiation (for the bread is then as real as the sacred Manhood), safeguards the objective and substantial Presence. The emphasis, however, is upon the action and the eating. Finally, Cyril confined both doctrine and theological speculation to a minimum. He had no theory of *how* the divinity and humanity co-existed in Christ, though he may have thought of this co-presence as the *Mystagogiae* thought of the co-presence in the Eucharist (*Myst.* 4.7: "the mystic, intelligible [*noētēn*] Table") on the model of the indwelling of a Platonic "sensible" (earthly reality) by a *noēton* (the corresponding spiritual, heavenly reality) or as the soul permeates the body, "tota in toto et tota in qualibet parte" (cf. the Logos-Sarx Christology). Cyril does not tell us how he conceived the "conversion" of the bread into the Body of Christ; probably he would have accepted the other christological analogy, that of the incarnation of the Word; this is the analogy suggested by Theophilus of Alexandria—as the Word became flesh without ceasing to be the Word (*menōn ho ēn*). Other Fathers, however, from ca. 380 use language hardly if at all distinguishable from that of transubstantiation: transelement,

metousioun, metastoicheioun, metarrhythmizein suggesting a change in what we would call the invisible atomic or nuclear structure of the bread—a regrettable concession, one may think, to the literalist piety of the simpler faithful.

FIFTH LECTURE ON THE MYSTERIES

The Eucharist (II): The Liturgy¹

*"Laying aside, then, all malice, deceit and slander" etc.*²

(1) By the mercy of God you have in our former assemblies received sufficient instruction about Baptism, Chrism, and the partaking [communion] of the Body and Blood of Christ.³ We must now pass on to the next subject, intending today to crown the work of your spiritual edification.

The Hand-Washing

(2) You saw the deacon⁴ who offers the water for the washing of hands to the celebrant and to the presbyters who

1 This lecture is not a liturgical *text*, but a commentary, with short quotations, upon the Jerusalem rite, which resembled the rather Semitic and partly archaic "Addai and Mari" (Dix 178-180). It is often closely paralleled by Theodore and ApCo 8.11-15 and was probably the nucleus of the Liturgy of St. James (A.D. 450-). For an interesting commentary on *Myst.* 5 see Dix, esp. 187-203; but, *pace* Dix, *Myst.* 5 is unlikely to antedate 390.

2 Cf. 1 Peter 2.1ff.

3 Note the three distinct sacraments co-ordinated; but among the manuscripts the group α family lacks "Chrism."

4 Entirely omitting the Proanaphora, with which the newly baptized would be familiar (and which was no doubt in any case omitted—cf. ApTrad—in the Easter Mass), the commentary starts with the Lavabo, whose origins presumably lie in the Jewish grace with meals or the ablution preceding the cultic *berakah* (benediction, = Greek "eucharist" or *eulogia*). The people's offerings of bread and wine have just been set upon the altar by the deacons. Cf. ApTrad 4.2: "[To the Bishop] let the Deacons bring the oblation, and he with all the Presbyters laying his hand on the oblation shall say giving thanks [eucharistizing] thus . . ." (Dialogue and Preface follow).

encircle the altar of God.⁵ Not that he offered this water on account of any bodily uncleanness: of course not; for we did not originally enter the church unwashed. No; the ablution is a symbolic action, a symbol of our obligation to be clean from all sins and transgressions. The hands symbolize action; so by washing them we signify evidently the purity and blamelessness of our conduct. Did you not hear the blessed David supplying the key to this ceremony in the divine mysteries when he says: "I will wash my hands among the innocent: and will circle thy altar, O Lord"?⁶ The hand-washing, then, is a symbol of innocence.

The Kiss

(3) Next the deacon cries:⁷ "Welcome one another," and "Let us kiss one another."⁸ You must not suppose that this kiss is the kiss customarily exchanged in the streets by ordinary friends. This kiss is different, effecting, as it does, a comingling of souls and mutually pledging unreserved forgiveness. The kiss, then, is a sign of a true union of hearts, banish-

⁵ In Syria the altar sometimes stood against the rear wall of the apse (J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie* [Paris 1947]; art. "Syrie," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 15.2 [1953] 1855-1941); alternatively it was placed on the chord of the apse (e.g., Gerasa, St. Peter and St. Paul); in N. Africa it sometimes stood in the nave near the chancel steps (cf., e.g., the Tabarka [Thabraca] mosaic); and sometimes it stood in a central position in the nave (e.g., Sabratha, Forum Basilica) [M. Moreton].

⁶ Ps. 25 (26).6, Sept. Possibly the whole of this psalm was chanted.

⁷ Bishop, deacons and the holy people (laity) had each their proper "liturgy" in the common action (cf. 1 Clem. 40.5-41.3). The deacon presented the offerings (bread and wine) brought to church by the people and in later times, when in the East the celebrant was secluded first by the veil, then by the solid screen, he acted as the link between priest and people, who gradually became passive spectators. But there are already some late elements in *Myst.* 5. Note the people's responses in the *Myst.*

⁸ The liturgical kiss of peace (origin in Jewish nonliturgical practice?) is a token of that "unity of spirit in the bond of peace" which for St. Paul was the foundation of the "one Body" (1 Cor. 10.17). Syrian *Didascalia* (cf. Ethiopic) 2.45 tells of private Christian courts for the peaceful settling of disputes.

ing every grudge. It was this that Christ had in view when He said: "If, when you are bringing your gift to the altar, you suddenly remember that your brother has a grievance against you, leave your offering by the altar; first go and make your peace with your brother, and then come back and offer your gift."⁹ The kiss, then, is a reconciliation and therefore holy, as the blessed Paul said somewhere when he commanded us to "salute one another with a holy kiss";¹⁰ and Peter: "Salute one another with a kiss of charity."¹¹

The Dialogue

(4) Then the celebrant cries: "Lift up your hearts."¹² For truly it is right in that most awful¹³ hour to have one's heart on high with God, not below, occupied with earth and the things of earth. In effect, then, the bishop¹⁴ commands everyone to banish worldly thoughts and workaday cares and to have their hearts in heaven with the good God.

Assenting, you answer, "We have them lifted up to the Lord." Let no one present be so disposed that while his lips

⁹ Matt. 5.23, 24; cf. *Didache* 14.1-2.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. 16.20.

¹¹ 1 Peter 5.14.

¹² This part of the Dialogue is apparently of purely Christian origin and early, cf. ApTrad 4.3. The real action of the liturgy takes place beyond time "in the Age to Come." That is, the Eucharist is eschatological: Christ is Host at the Messianic Banquet, already realized by anticipation (Dix p. 127).

¹³ This awe and fear of the sacrament was apparently a late fourth-century Syrian development and something of a revolution. Not so much earlier, Dix (p. 480) remarks, Christians had been accustomed to communicate themselves at home with the reserved Sacrament. Jungmann (J. A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet* [Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 7/8; Münster in W. 1925] 217) also thinks that it marks *Myst.* 5 as late (380-400). Even ca. 374, "All the solitaries in the desert, where there is no priest, communicate themselves, keeping the communion at home. And at Alexandria and in Egypt the laity commonly keep the communion in their houses, each communicating when he likes" (St. Basil the Great, Letter 93).

¹⁴ Literally "priest," but the title is reserved for the bishop, priests (cf. 5.2) being styled "presbyters"; so in the Latin Fathers "sacerdos" and "presbyter."

form the words, "We have them lifted up to the Lord," in his mind his attention is engaged by worldly thoughts. At all times we should commemorate¹⁵ God, but at least, if this is not possible to human weakness, we must aspire to it in that hour.

(5) Then the priest says: "Let us give thanks [make eucharist] to the Lord."¹⁶ Indeed we ought to give thanks to

15 The Eucharist is an *anamnēsis* ("commemoration" in a pregnant sense) and, if Dix and P. Audet are right, is modelled, as a literary form, upon the Jewish cultic *berakah* which had three basic elements: (i) a benediction or brief invitation to praise God; (ii) the motive, i.e., the wonderful works of God in creation and, especially, in salvation history; in recalling (*anamnēsis*) these, the people also recalls, and anew identifies itself with, its own past history, which, as salvation history, is a history with God; (iii) a doxology; in ch. 6 the Sanctus (Trisagion) is called a "doxology." M's use of the word *mnēmoneuteon* ("mention, commemorate, make anamnesis") at this point, therefore, is probably not accidental; cf. Exod. 20.4: "In every place where I cause my name to be remembered, I will come to you and bless you."

16 The great puzzle of *Myst.* 5 is the absence, in the Eucharistic Prayer, of any reference to the Mystery of Salvation, Christ's historic redemptive work (incarnation, passion, resurrection). But since the Great Prayer (I take it) begins here (*eucharistēsōmen*), the triple *hoti* (giving thanks "because of" or "for" three things) is highly significant. Here "ought" implies "is." Even allowing for the possibility that the reference is to the ground of the obligation rather than to the expressed content of the thanks and is, directly, to the baptismal grace, nevertheless this passage points to the commemoration of Christ's work. The solution cannot be (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* I [Oxford 1896] 469) that the Mystagogue "skips" and "is only expounding the salient points of the rite," for the repeated "next" and "after that" show continuity and, while the "great gap" occurs between chaps. 6 and 7, chap. 7 (the Epiclesis) clearly follows immediately upon 6 (the Trisagion, Sanctus); moreover the *anamnesis* of Christ, the very heart of the Eucharist, is surely a "salient point." The explanation probably is that what is being expounded is that part of the service which the congregation were allowed to hear and see, as distinct from the prayers recited by the celebrant in a low voice and perhaps behind a curtain (veil, screen). The prominence, in *Myst.* 5, of awe and dread shows that this document is not prior to the great liturgical revolution of the late fourth century which transformed the primitive Christian Eucharist: "The Eucharist, at the beginning a simple Lord's Supper in the private homes of the Christians, takes the form more and more of a court ceremonial" (Quasten, *Patrology* III 4-5). This "byzantinizing" of the Eucharist involved chanting and, very soon, performance of the most sacred parts by the celebrant privately. Since, except for extensive additions, the great Eastern liturgies have remained stationary since the fifth cen-

the Lord for calling us, when we were unworthy, to so great a grace, for reconciling us when we were enemies, and for vouchsafing to us the spirit of adoption.

Then you say: "It is meet and just." In giving thanks we do indeed a meet thing and a just; but He did, not a just thing, but one that went beyond justice, in deigning to bestow on us such marvellous blessings.

Memorial of Creation: Sanctus

(6) After that we commemorate the heavens,¹⁷ the earth and the sea; the sun and moon, the stars, the whole rational and irrational creation, both visible and invisible: Angels and Archangels; Virtues, Dominions, Principalities, Powers, Thrones and the many-faced Cherubim: equivalently saying with David, "O magnify ye the Lord with me."¹⁸ We commemorate also the Seraphim whom Isaia in the Holy Spirit

tury, we have probably the clue to *Myst.* 5 in the relatively modern form of, e.g., the Armenian liturgy as given by Brightman, pp. 412-57. There the parts performed aloud before the screen are precisely those commented upon in *Myst.* 5—the Hand-washing with Ps. 25.6, the Kiss, the Dialogue introducing the Eucharistic Prayer, and the Sanctus—while the Eucharistic Prayer itself is recited secretly, the clerks meanwhile prolonging the Sanctus with angelic hymns up to the Epiclesis. J. A. Jungmann noted an exactly parallel phenomenon in medieval and later times in the West, where the celebrant had reached the words of institution by the time the choir had finished singing the Sanctus (*Missarum Sollemnia* I [Vienna 1958] 172-73). From the people's point of view, then, the Epiclesis (or words of institution) *did* follow immediately upon the Sanctus. Thus the Jerusalem liturgy very probably had a rich christological *anamnesis*, including, as *Myst.* 4 suggests, the institution narrative. But both Preface and Anaphora may have been still variable in length and content. The *Peregrinatio* of Aetheria/Egeria, while very reticent about the Mass, is compatible with the hypothesis that it was quite simple in Jerusalem *ca.* 395 and that, so thorough was the preaching about the Lord's life, much could be taken for granted.

17 (*Mnēmoneuomen*) Or "make mention of"; but "commemorate" brings out the literary structure; creation, redemption, the Institution-narrative, the Saints of the time of the Church (5.9) are all contents of the same one Eucharist or Anamnesis; the Last Supper takes its place, a central place, in salvation history. And cf. "commemorate God" in 5.4E.

18 Ps. 33.4.

saw encircling the throne of God, "with two wings veiling their faces¹⁹ and with twain their feet, while with twain they did fly,"²⁰ as they chanted: "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts."²¹ It is to mingle our voices in the hymns of the heavenly armies that we recite this doxology which descends to us from the Seraphim.²²

Epiclesis (Invocation) and Consecration

(7) Next,²³ after sanctifying ourselves by these spiritual songs, we implore the merciful God²⁴ to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the offering to make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ.²⁵ For whatever the Holy Spirit touches is hallowed²⁶ and changed.

19 Gk. *prosōpon*, singular. Dix (197) interprets "His face"; cf. Origen, *Peri archōn* 4.3.14. *Myst.* 5.6, however, envisages not two, but a considerable number of Seraphim, and as they "surround" God, it is not clear how all of them could veil His face.

20 Really "treading air," as they are apparently stationary.

21 Cf. Isa. 6.2-3, Sept.

22 Apparently explaining the "with me" above. The liturgy takes place in the heavenly courts; cf. ch. 4. I read *touto* with the γ family instead of the untranslatable *to*.

23 Here, since the exposition clearly goes straight from the Sanctus to the Epiclesis, comes the alleged "great gap." But see n. 16 above.

24 For the phrasing compare "the invocation of the Holy Spirit," *Myst.* 3.3, and "the invocation of the adorable Trinity," 1.7.

25 So it is the Invocation which consecrates and changes the elements. Compare 3.3; 4.3 and Greg. Nyss., *In bapt. Chr.* (PG 46.581): "The bread [after the consecration] is called, and becomes, the Body of Christ. So also the mystic oil, so the wine: of little worth before the blessing, they both after the consecration of the Spirit have a new efficacy." Now too there is a clear "moment of consecration"; in Chrysostom, *Hom. 2 de prodizione Iudae* 6, this moment is when the Words of Institution are pronounced: "'This is my body,' [Christ] says. This word transforms the oblation." There is an Epiclesis in ApTrad (4.12) after the Words of Institution; there, however, it is not a petition for the action of the Holy Spirit upon the oblation itself, but upon the minds and hearts of the communicants (R. H. Connolly, "The Eucharistic Prayer of Hippolytus," *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 39 [1938] 367). There is a remarkably close parallel in (spurious?) Irenaeus, frag. 37 (ANF vol. 1, p. 574); see also frag. 13. Note that in *Myst.* 1.7 the Eucharistic Epiclesis is an invocation of "the adorable Trinity."

26 Or "consecrated."

The Intercession

(8) Next, when the spiritual sacrifice, the bloodless worship, has been completed,²⁷ over that sacrifice of propitiation we beseech God²⁸ for the public peace of the Churches, for the good estate of the world, for the Emperors,²⁹ for the armed forces and our allies,³⁰ for those in sickness, for the distressed: for all, in a word, who need help, we all pray and offer this sacrifice.

(9) Then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep:³¹ first of all, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, that God through their intercessory prayers may accept our supplication. Next we pray also for the holy Fathers and Bishops who have fallen asleep, and generally for all who have gone before us, believing that this will be of the greatest benefit to the souls of those on whose behalf our supplication is offered in the presence of the holy, the most dread Sacrifice.

27 (*apartisthēnai*) One could translate "has found its completion in that sacrifice of propitiation"; but the latter will still be the spiritual and unbloody sacrifice. The text perhaps implies that the *Myst.* here skips, in its exposition, part of the liturgy, possibly the *anamnesis* of Christ's work. Compare Chrys. *De prod. Iud.* 1.6, where the Words of Institution "complete" (*apērtismenēn*) the sacrifice. To the objection that as in *De prod. Iud.* the Words of Institution effect both the Presence and the Sacrifice, so that the *Myst.* may understand the Epiclesis as effecting both, it may be replied that (1) unlike the Words of Institution, the typical Epiclesis does not signify the Sacrifice, and (2) the *Myst.* seem to view the Epiclesis as effecting only the Presence. If the liturgy commented on in the *Myst.* did include an Institution-narrative, we must revise Dix's remark (pp. 278, 280) that in *Myst.* 5 Christ plays a purely passive role, especially as in *De prod. Iud.* Christ is Priest as well as Victim. Not that a Eucharist without an Institution-narrative is unthinkable; "Addai and Mari" probably had none, and there is none in what is probably a Eucharist, *Didache* 9-10.

28 The intercessions in this liturgy are unusually developed and prominent (Dix 201).

29 Plural: Theodosius and Gratian?

30 Cl. Beukers, S.J., "For our Emperors, Soldiers and Allies," *Vigiliae Christianae* 15 (1961) 177-84, argues learnedly and persuasively that the reference can only be to the convert Visigoths planted in Moesia and, 3 October 382, granted the status of *socii* by Theodosius.

31 "Cemetery," a Christian word, is the Greek form of Latin "dormitory."

(10) Let me use an illustration for an argument. For I know that many of you say:³² "What does it avail a soul departing this world, whether with or without sins, to be remembered at the Sacrifice?" Well, suppose a king banished persons who had offended him, and then their relatives wove a garland and presented it to him on behalf of those undergoing punishment, would he not mitigate their sentence? In the same way, offering our supplications to Him for those who have fallen asleep, even though they be sinners, we, though we weave no garland, offer Christ slain for our sins,³³ propitiating the merciful God on both their and our own behalf.

The Lord's Prayer

(11) Then, after this, we recite that prayer which the Savior delivered to His own disciples, with a clear conscience designating God as our Father, saying: "Our Father who art

³² Was the teaching, then, a novelty that met resistance? In the time of Cyprian (*Ep.* 39.3) "sacrifices were offered for" martyrs at their annual commemoration in the liturgy; but Cyprian speaks of their "crowns," and their passion was linked with Our Lord's. Presumably Tertullian (*Cor. mil.* 3) referred to the same custom. Martyrs are commemorated much earlier.

³³ The *Myst.* clearly teach that the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice. But in what sense? Clearly not, as was maintained by F. Clark (*Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* [Westminster, Md., and London 1960] 256-257, etc.) in the sense that, in the Eucharist, Calvary is *literally* made present, for then the Mass would be neither (5.8A) a "spiritual sacrifice" nor a "bloodless service." St. Thomas Aquinas emphatically rejects any such view; cf. *Sum. theol.* 3.83.1; 3.81.4, (*ad 1* quite fits this picture) and *passim*. Nor (against Vonier) is a dead Christ offered; in the case of *Christ* the perfect participle has not this connotation, since His death was "once for all" and He is "the Crucified and Risen One." But the glorified Christ remains forever the Victim and bears the scars of His Sacrifice on even His glorified Body (John 20.19-29). Priest and Victim are the same (Council of Trent, Denzinger-Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion symbolorum* 1743). See A. A. Stephenson, "Two Views of the Mass," *Theological Studies* (Woodstock, Md.) 22 (1961), 588-609. In the case of any other than Christ, Gk *esphagiasmenon* would imply that the victim was still dead.

Compare Chrys., *Priesthood* 3.4: "When you see the immolated Lord . . . and the High Priest standing and praying over the sacrifice, and the whole congregation empurpled by that precious

in heaven.”³⁴ Oh, the greatness of the mercy of God! To those who had revolted from Him and been reduced to the direst straits He has granted so liberal a pardon for their crimes, He has been so prodigal of His favor, that they may even call Him “Father”: “Our Father who art in heaven.” They also are a “Heaven” who “bear the likeness of the heavenly man,” since God is dwelling in them and mingling with them.”³⁵

(12) “Hallowed be thy name.” God’s name is by nature holy, whether we call it so or not. But because it is sometimes profaned among sinners according to the words: “Through you my name is continually blasphemed among the Gentiles,”³⁶ we pray that the name of God may be hallowed in us: not that from not being holy it becomes holy, but because it becomes holy *in us* when we are sanctified [hallowed] and our actions correspond to our holy profession.

(13) “Thy kingdom come.” It is the mark of a pure soul to say without reserve: “Thy kingdom come.” For it is the man who has listened to Paul saying: “Therefore do not let sin reign in your mortal body”³⁷ and has purified himself in action, thought and word, who will say to God: “Thy kingdom come.”

(14) “Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.” God’s heavenly, blessed angels do the will of God, as David said

Blood . . .” Often, like *Myst.* here, which remarkably anticipates the tone of Late (post-Thomistic) medieval theology, Chrysostom uses very realistic language. Once, however, (fortunately) he explains: “Yes, we offer (the Victim of Calvary), but (only) making the commemoration (*anamnēsis*) of His death . . . We offer, not a different sacrifice (from Calvary), but the same; or rather, we make the commemoration (*anamnēsis*) of that Sacrifice” (*Hom. 17.3 in Heb.*). An “anamnesis” is not a “bare commemoration” (Denz.-Schönm. 1753), for in the Sacrifice of the Church the true Priest/Victim is present, and the benefits of the once-for-all Sacrifice are made available.

³⁴ Matt. 6.9-13. The Lord’s Prayer seems to have been introduced into the Eucharistic liturgy after *ca.* 375. Only sons can celebrate the Eucharist. With 5.11 compare 5.5; 5.2.

³⁵ Cf. 1 Cor. 15.49; 2 Cor. 6.16; Lev. 26.11-12.

³⁶ Cf. Isa. 52.5, Sept.; Rom. 2.24.

³⁷ Rom. 6.12.

in the Psalm: "Bless the Lord, all ye his angels: you that are mighty in strength, and execute his word."³⁸ In effect, then, this is what you mean by this petition: "As in the angels thy will is done, so on earth be it done in me, O Lord."

(15). "Give us this day our superessential bread."³⁹ Ordinary bread is not "superessential"; but this holy bread is superessential in the sense of being ordained for the essence of the soul. Not of this Bread is it said that it "passes into the stomach and so is discharged into the drain";⁴⁰ no: it is absorbed into your whole system to the benefit of both soul and body.⁴¹ By "this day" he means "daily," as in Paul's "while it is called to-day."⁴²

(16) "And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." For our sins are many; we err both in word and in thought, and do many a deed which deserves condemnation. Indeed, "if we say that we have no sin, we are liars," as John says.⁴³ So we make a bargain with God, begging Him to condone our offenses according as we forgive our neighbours. Bearing in mind, then, the disproportion of this *quid*

³⁸ Cf. Ps. 102.20.

³⁹ Whether we translate "superessential" or, with the PGL (*s.v. epiousios*), "essential" ("substantial"), the general meaning is the same: this Bread is the true Bread, which nourishes the real, inner or noetic self. Cf. 4.5 and Origen (*In Matt.* 85, PG 13.1735): "This Bread . . . is the Word-nourisher of our souls; (it is) the word proceeding from the God-Word." Cf. Origen, *Prayer* 27.1-9, esp. 7-9. The translation depends on whether our author assumed the Platonist or Stoic definition of substance there expounded. Aristotle, followed by Aquinas (*Sum. theol.* 1.66.2), held against Plato that the heavenly bodies were composed of a fifth element (quintessence). For "superessential" cf. *epignōsis* in PGL, *s.v.*, 1. Human soul and body provide a possible analogy for the relation of the Body of Christ to the bread.

⁴⁰ Matt. 15.17.

⁴¹ A close parallel in Origen, *Prayer* 27.9. But what is surprising about the *Myst.*, if John II be its author, is how little it owes to Origen. For the physical assimilation of the Heavenly Bread, cf. *Cat.* 3.3, 4, 12; *Myst.* 3.3, 7A; the unique relation of the sacramental figure to the reality makes it possible to say of the material element (almost) everything that is true of what it signifies.

⁴² Heb. (3.13), whose Pauline authorship Clement affirmed, Origen hesitated over: cf. R. P. Hanson, in JTS 49.25; Eus. H. E. 6.25.

⁴³ Cf. 1 John 1.8.

pro quo, let us not delay or put off forgiving one another. The offenses committed against us are small, paltry and easily settled; but the offenses we have committed against God are great—too great for any mercy except His. Beware, then, lest, on account of slight and trifling transgressions against you, you debar yourself from God's forgiveness of your most grievous sins.

(17) "And lead us not into temptation," O Lord. Is it this that the Lord teaches us to pray for: not to be tempted at all? How, then, is it said in another place: "A man untempted is a man unproved"?⁴⁴ And again: "Esteem it all joy, my brethren, when you fall into various temptations"?⁴⁵ But "entering into temptation" could mean being overwhelmed by temptation. For temptation is like a raging torrent which defies the traveller. Some people in time of temptation manage to cross this torrent without being overwhelmed by the raging waters, their prowess as swimmers saving them from being swept away by the tide. But if others who are not of the same mettle enter, they are engulfed: like Judas, who entered into the temptation of avarice and, failing to swim across, was overwhelmed and drowned—physically and spiritually. Peter entered into the temptation of the denial; but, though he entered, he was not drowned, but manfully swam across and was delivered from the temptation. Listen again, in another passage, to a company of triumphant saints giving thanks for their deliverance from temptation: "For thou, O God, hast proved us; thou hast tried us by fire, as silver is tried. Thou hast brought us into a net: thou hast laid afflictions on our back: thou didst let men ride over our heads. We have passed through fire and through water: and thou didst lead us out into a refreshment."⁴⁶ You see them celebrating their escape from the trap.⁴⁷ And "thou hast brought

⁴⁴ Cf. Sir. 34.9-10.

⁴⁵ Cf. James 1.2.

⁴⁶ Ps. 65.10-12.

⁴⁷ Touttée's conjecture, accepted by Piédagnel; cf. Ps. 68.15, Sept.

us out," he says, "into a refreshment": their being "brought into a refreshment" refers to their rescue from temptation.

(18) "But deliver us from the Evil One." If "lead us not into temptation" referred to not being tempted at all, He would not have said: "but *deliver* us from the Evil One." The Evil One from whom we pray to be rescued is our adversary, the Devil.

Then, after completing the prayer, you say "Amen," which means, "So be it," thus setting your seal upon the petitions of the prayer which we owe to the divine teacher.

The Communion

(19) Next the priest says: "Holy things to the holy." Holy are the offerings after they have received the visitation of the Holy Spirit; and you are holy after you have been privileged to receive the Holy Spirit.⁴⁸ So things and persons correspond: both are holy. Next you say: "One is holy, one is the Lord, Jesus Christ." For truly One only is holy—holy, that is, by nature; yet we also are holy, not, indeed, by nature, but by participation, training and prayer.

(20) After this you hear the chanter inviting you with a sacred melody to communion in the holy mysteries, in the words: "O taste and see that the Lord is good."⁴⁹ Entrust not the judgment to your bodily palate, but to unwavering faith. For in tasting you taste, not bread and wine, but the antitypical⁵⁰ Body and Blood of Christ.

⁴⁸ Like much of *Myst.* 5, closely paralleled in Theodore of Mopsuestia.

⁴⁹ Ps. 33.9.

⁵⁰ Or "the antitype of the Body"; cf. the anarthrous *Myst.* 3.3. Cf. the Paschal Mass of ApTrad 23.1 (Lat): ". . . And (the Bishop) shall eucharistize the bread into the representation (Gk. 'antitype') of the Flesh of Christ, and the cup mixed with wine for the antitype (Gk., *homoiōma*, 'likeness') of the Blood. . ."; cf. ApTrad 32.3. Cf. Serapion: "the likeness (*homoiōma*) of the Body of the Only-begotten . . . the likeness of His death"; ApCo 7.25: ". . . for the precious Body . . . and Blood, the representation (antitypes) of which we perform" (Quasten). After ca. 430, however, this usage was deprecated, and the Second Council of Nicaea (A.D. 787) equivalently forbade the

(21) Coming up to receive, therefore, do not approach with your wrists extended or your fingers splayed, but making your left hand a throne for the right (for it is about to receive a King) and cupping your palm, so receive the Body of Christ; and answer: "Amen." Carefully hallow your eyes by the touch of the sacred Body, and then partake, taking care to lose no part of It. Such a loss would be like a mutilation of your own body. Why, if you had been given gold-dust, would you not take the utmost care to hold it fast, not letting a grain slip through your fingers, lest you be by so much the poorer? How much more carefully, then, will you guard against losing so much as a crumb of that which is more precious than gold or precious stones!

(22) After partaking of the Body of Christ, approach also the chalice of His Blood. Do not stretch out your hands, but, bowing low in a posture of worship and reverence as you say, "Amen," sanctify yourself by receiving also the Blood of Christ. While It is still warm upon your lips, moisten your fingers with It and so sanctify your eyes, your forehead, and other organs of sense. Then wait for the prayer and give thanks to the God who has deigned to admit you to such high mysteries.

(23) Preserve this traditional teaching untarnished; keep yourselves unsullied by sin. Never cut yourselves off from the fellowship [communion], never through the pollution of sin deprive yourselves of these sacred, spiritual mysteries. "And may the God of peace sanctify you completely, and may your whole spirit, soul and body be preserved blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,"⁵¹ whose is the glory now and evermore, world without end. Amen.

elements to be called "antitypes" after the consecration (Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum* [Paris 1714-1715] 4.372A, cf. 369D).
 51 1 Thess. 5.23.

SERMON ON THE PARALYTIC

(Homilia eis ton paralytikon ton epi tēn kolymbēthran)

Translated by

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INTRODUCTION



YRIL'S SINGLE EXTANT sermon is found in only two manuscripts so far edited, B (Bodl. Roe 25, xi s.) and R (Paris, B. N. graec. 1447 [Regius 2030; ca. 1100]). There is a lacuna in B, but R is apparently entire. The evidence, on balance, strongly favours the Cyrilline authenticity of the Sermon. The silence of the monk Alexander and the Armenian tradition,¹ which know only the Lenten Lectures and the Letter to Constantius, is not very significant, for, unlike the catechetical lectures, the Sermon had no special interest for the Armenian Church and, unlike the Letter, it had no public interest. A comparison with the Lenten Lectures strongly suggests authenticity, for the differences in style between the two works are explained by their different subjects, and the distinction drawn in *Cat.* 13.9 between the method of the Lenten Lectures and the devotional mode of the ordinary sermon (cf. *Procat.* 11), with its mystical/allegorical (*theōretikē*, not "speculative") exegesis, prepares us for exactly what we find in the Sermon. When in the Lenten Lectures Cyril yields to his *attrait*, we find there passages very like the Sermon, notably *Cat.* 13.30-31 and 10.13, which summarizes many of the themes of the Sermon. A difficulty, however, arises from the reference to "our Father's teaching" in chapter 20. Touttée, assuming that on Sundays there were several sermons preached by presbyters in ascending order of seniority, the bishop preaching last, assumed that Cyril was senior presbyter. But Cyril was not ordained presbyter until

¹ The Armenian life is published by E. Bihain, *Le Muséon* 76 (1963) 341-48 (cf. 333-38 for Cyril's literary activity). For the monk Alexander, see above p. 145.

after Serdica (A.D. 342), and in the last years before Bishop Maximus' death in 348/9 relations between them were probably strained.² But see notes to chapter 20. The Sermon resembles the Lenten Lectures in its anti-Jewish polemic, but its attitude to sex and marriage in chapters 10-12, where the imagery of the Song of Songs is taken to apply to the Passion, is more negative than in *Cat.* 4.24-26.

Cyril's text apparently lacked John 5.4, since there is no reference to the angel, but apparently included verse 3b (cf. ch. 9).

The text of the Sermon, like that of the Mystagogical Lectures, is rather extensively corrupt and presents the translator with many troublesome problems.

For an appraisal of the sermon, see Vol. 1 (FOTC Vol. 61) pp. 6-11.

² Vol. 1 (FOTC Vol. 61), pp. 21, 22.

SERMON ON THE PARALYTIC

A sermon of our Blessed Father, Cyril, Bishop of
Jerusalem, on the Paralytic at the Pool¹

(1) Wherever Jesus appears, there is salvation. If He sees a revenue officer sitting in his office, He makes him an apostle and evangelist. Laid in the grave, He raises the dead to life.² He bestows sight on the blind, hearing on the deaf.³ When, as now, He visits the public baths, it is not out of interest in the architecture,⁴ but to heal the sick.

(2) By the Sheep Market in Jerusalem there used to be a pool with five colonnades,⁵ four of which enclosed the pool, while the fifth spanned it midway. Here large numbers of sick would lie (unbelief also was rife among the Jews).⁶ The physician and healer of both souls and bodies showed fairness in choosing this chronic sufferer to be the first recipient

¹ John 5.2, 3, 5-14. For the absence of verse 4, see above, p. 208. There had also been a reading from St. Paul to the Romans; see below at n. 66.

² Cf. Matt. 27.53.

³ Cf. ch. 9 *fin.*, and *Cat.* 10.5.

⁴ As the Greeks specialized in temples, so the Romans' great architectural achievement was their baths. The baths of Caracalla occupied, with their gardens and gymnasia, over thirty-three acres. The five colonnades or porches of John 5.2 suggest that the Pool of the Sheep Market (?) was a public bath.

⁵ As R has "there was the Sheep Pool," our two MSS reproduce the same divergence as the New Testament MSS. The pool is probably to be identified with the trapezoidal double pool of St. Anna, over a hundred yards long, recently uncovered by excavation in the property of the White Fathers.

⁶ It is tempting to emend to *astheneia* "(and the Jewish nation was sorely sick)," the spiritual nature of this malady being only implied; B has *apisteiāi* (dative).

of His gift, that he might the earlier be released from his pains. For not for one day only, nor for two, had the poor man lain on his bed of sickness—nor was it now the first month, no, nor the first year—but for eight-and-thirty years. His long-standing illness, rendering him a figure familiar to passersby, now made him ocular evidence of the power of his healer. For the paralytic was known to all by reason of the length of time.⁷ But though the master physician gave proof of His skill, He was rebuffed by those who put an unfavourable construction on His work of mercy.

(3) As He walked round the pool, "He saw." He did not elicit the information by asking questions, for His divine power obviated any such need. Not "asking," but "seeing" how long the invalid had lain there; "seeing," He knew; indeed He knew before He saw. For if in the case of secrets of the heart "He had no need to question anyone concerning man, for He himself knew what was in man,"⁸ much more was this the case when it was a question of diagnosing diseases with visible symptoms.⁹

(4) He saw a bedridden man weighed down by a sore sickness; for the paralytic's heavy load of sins aggravated the long-drawn agony of disease.¹⁰ A question addressed to the sufferer hinted to him his need: "Wilt thou be healed?" Not a word more; He left him with the question half spoken. For the question was ambiguous; it was because he was sick not only in body but also in soul (compare His later saying: "Behold, thou art cured; sin no more, lest something worse befall thee") that He asked him: "Do you want to be healed?" What mighty power that implied in the physician, making relief depend only on the patient's willing! It is because salvation is from faith that He asked "Do you want to be healed?" that his "Yes" might give Jesus His cue. This "Wilt thou?" is the

⁷ Is this sentence a gloss?

⁸ Slightly emending the text which conflates John 2.25 and 16.30, to give the required sense.

⁹ But Touttée renders: "qui ab exterioribus causis inducuntur."

¹⁰ A gloss?

word of Jesus only; it belongs not to doctors who heal the body. For those who treat bodily ailments cannot say to any and every patient: "Wilt thou be healed?" But Jesus grants the will,¹¹ accepts the faith, and freely bestows the gift.

(5) Once when the Savior was passing by,¹² two blind men were sitting by the roadside.¹³ Though their bodily eyes were sightless, their minds were open to the light. The blind men pointed out Him whom the Scribes did not recognize. For the Pharisees who, for all that they had been taught the Law—yes, had studied it from childhood to old age—had neverthe-

11 This, as Touttée also remarked, makes nonsense of the whole chapter. The repeated *charizetai* is also highly inelegant. Cyril must have written simply "He accepts the will and bestows the grace," which some medieval scribe changed and interpolated to make Cyril conform to a later, Western orthodoxy, crediting him with: "He grants the will," i.e., the theology of Augustine and the Second Council of Orange. Though Touttée felt obliged to follow the text of the MSS, he thought it incredible; it contradicts the "semi-Pelagian" tenor of the chapter, of the Sermon as a whole and of the Pre-baptismal Lectures. Just above Cyril has said, "putting relief in the power of his will." Cyril's doctrine is clear and consistent. Man needs salvation, and he cannot save himself; only God, through Christ, can save him. But while the Savior offers salvation, our reception of it depends on our willing it. Cyril sometimes inserts a further term, "faith," "believing"; but he holds that believing depends on ourselves. We choose to believe or not; in Cyril's terminology, "choosing, willing" and "believing" are almost synonymous. Cf. *Procat.* 8; "How are my sins blotted out?" "By willing, by believing"; and in *Procat.* 1 Cyril gives a doctrine of election: "Your sincere intention makes you called." Cf. *Cat.* 1.1-5, where "grace" is neither an abstraction nor a quality, but the concrete gift bestowed in baptism, i.e., the forgiveness of sins and the impartation of the Holy Ghost. Salvation is like a race: in *Procat.* as in *Cat.* 1.5 *fin.*, the candidate is "running for his life" (or his "soul"). As *Cat.* 2.5 (*fin.*) and the very emphatic 7.13 show, Cyril is concerned to assert moral responsibility and earnestness against the teaching of certain Gnostics that men are good or evil, saved or lost, by *nature*. Cf. *Cat.* 17.37 (*init.*) and ch. 5 below. If this was the Jerusalem tradition, one can understand why (cf. *Introd.* to *Myst.*) Pelagius was in 415 acquitted at a diocesan Council of Jerusalem and a Provincial Council at Lydda. Perhaps it was because he knew of this tradition that Pelagius chose Palestine as the place of his exile. It is not, of course, here suggested that Cyril was a Pelagian.

12 Adopting Touttée's conjecture *parēiei* for *periēiei*.

13 Cf. Matt. 20.30-34.

less grown old still uncomprehending,¹⁴ now said: "As for this man, we do not know where he comes from"¹⁵ (for "he came unto his own, and his own received him not").¹⁶ But the blind men kept on crying out: "Son of David, have mercy on us." Those whose eyes did not serve them to read knew Him whom the students of the Law failed to recognize.

Going up to them, the Savior said: "Do you believe that I can do this for you?" and "What will you have me do for you?"¹⁷ He did not say: "What will you have me say to you?" but "What will you have me do for you?" For He was a doer, a maker—a giver of life, too—not now beginning to do for the first time (for His Father works always, and He works with His Father);¹⁸ He was the maker of the whole world at His Father's command.¹⁹ Alone begotten, without intermediary,²⁰ of the Alone, He questions the blind men, saying: "What will you have me do for you?" Not that He did not know what they wanted, for it was obvious: but He chose to make His gift depend on their answer, that they might be justified out of their own mouths. The reader of hearts could not be ignorant what they would say; but He waited upon their words; now His question was their cue.

(6) He stood by the cripple, the doctor visiting the sick man, nor is it so strange that He condescended to attend the invalid by the pool, for had He not visited us from Heaven? He asked him: "Wilt thou be healed?" by the question leading him on towards the saving knowledge, raising a question in *his* mind. A gift, truly, of grace! No fee was charged; else the patient would not have had the physician coming to him.²¹

14 Cf. Isa. 46.3 (Sept.). Partly missing in R. Cf. *Cat.* 4.2: "studied [the Scriptures] from childhood to old age and nevertheless had grown old still uncomprehending."

15 John 9.29.

16 John 1.11.

17 Matt. 9.28, another account of the healing of two blind men.

18 Cf. John 5.17.

19 A favourite theme of the *Cat.*, e.g. 11.22, 24.

20 Parallels, not verbally exact, in *Cat.* 7.4 and 11.7.

21 In this paragraph Cyril seems to be alluding to the greater cost of

He said to Him: "Yes, sir;²² for the long duration of my illness makes me desire health; but, desire it as I may, I have no man. . ." Do not lose heart, my good fellow, because you "have no man"; God you have standing by you, One who is at once man and God under different aspects;²³ for both must be confessed. The confession of the humanity without the confession of the divinity is unavailing, or rather earns a curse. For "cursed is he who puts his trust in man."²⁴ So with us: if, hoping in Jesus, we hope in the man only, not including the divinity, we inherit the curse. But as it is, we confess both God and man, and both truly: in worshipping Him as God truly begotten of the true Father and as man not merely in appearance, but really and truly born, we receive a real and true salvation.

(7) "Yes, I do want to be healed, but I have no man . . ." Maybe it was because of his dire straits that Jesus came to his rescue. For the generality of the sick had relatives,²⁵ friends too, and maybe other helpers. But the poor cripple, crushed by a literally universal want, utterly destitute, abandoned, alone, found the Son of God, the Only-begotten, coming to his aid.

"Wilt thou be healed?" "Yes, Lord, but I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool." No, but you have the spring itself. "For with thee is the fountain of life,"²⁶ the fountainhead of all fountains. "He who drinks of this water,²⁷ out of his belly shall flow rivers,"²⁸ not of the water that flows downwards but of that water that springs

having a visit from the doctor than of receiving treatment at his dispensary (*iatreion*). *Archiateros* means both a medical officer for the community and, by metaphorical adaptation, "the Supreme Physician."

22 This is Cyril's importation. In John 5 the cripple nowhere makes an act of faith. Odd.

23 For Cyril's Christology cf. ch. 9 below and *Cat.* 4.9 and 11.20.

24 Jer. 17.5.

25 Adopting Milles's conjecture (Oxford 1703), *oikeious* (B has *oikeias*) instead of R's "houses" (*oikias*).

26 Ps. 35.10.

27 Cf. John 4.14.

28 John 7.38.

up—for the spring inspired by Jesus' draught, unlike man's puny leap which lands him back on earth again, carries us up to the sky;²⁹ the water "bubbles up unto life everlasting."³⁰ Jesus is the wellspring of all blessings.

(8) Why, then, fix your hope on a pool? You have Him who walks upon the waters, who rebukes the winds, who holds sovereign sway over the ocean; who not only Himself walked on the sea as on a firm pavement³¹ but vouchsafed the like power to Peter. For when the night was black and the Light, though it was there, was not recognized (for Jesus, walking on the waters, passed unrecognized in face and features; it was the characteristic timbre of His voice that betrayed His presence), they, thinking they were seeing an apparition, were frightened until Jesus said to them, "It is I, do not be afraid."³² Peter said to Him: "If it be Thou whom I know, or rather whom the Father revealed to me, bid me come to thee over the waters"; and Christ, generously sharing what was His own, said: "Come."

(9) There stood by the waters of the pool the Ruler and Maker of the waters. To Him the cripple said: "I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool." The Savior said to him: "Why do you await the troubling of the water when you can be cured with no trouble at all? Why wait for the movement that is seen? More swiftly is the mind's command performed by the word. Only look down into the swirling power of the spring³³ and glimpse there

²⁹ Cf. *Letter to Constantius* 2.

³⁰ John 4.14.

³¹ In *Cat.* 13.9 Cyril quotes "Thy way is in the sea" (Ps. 77.19).

³² Matt. 14.27.

³³ A combination of some of the following ideas: (a) *Cat.* 14.5 *fin.*: "But who is the 'sealed fountain' (Cant. 4.12), the 'well of living water' (Cant. 4.15)? It is the Saviour Himself" (b) Since to know two of three proportionally related terms is to know the third (2:4 :: 4:?), the image in the pool of "the image of the invisible God" (Col. 1.15) is the clue to the supreme and saving knowledge, that of the Father. (c) As being relatively immaterial, the fleshless reflection of Christ in the pool is more like the Word than is His bodily form. (d) The water welling up from the depths of the spring symbolizes the Son streaming forth from the fountainhead (*pēgē*) of Deity.

God clothed in flesh; consider not the man whom your eyes see, but the invisible God who works through Him whom you see."³⁴

"I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool." He said to him: "Why set such narrow bounds to hope, intent on some poor water-cure? Arise: He who commands it is the Resurrection."

Everywhere the Savior becomes "all things to all men";³⁵ to the hungry, bread; to the thirsty, water; to the dead, resurrection; to the sick, a physician; to sinners, redemption.

(10) "Rise, take up thy pallet and walk." But first rise, cast away your sickness; afterwards you can put muscle on faith. Exert your strength first upon the bed that used to carry you; learn to carry away on a wooden stretcher those passions by which you were for so long carried away.³⁶ He was ordered to carry his wooden litter by that Savior of whom it was said: "The King hath made him a litter of the wood of Lebanon. The pillars thereof he made of silver, the seat of purple, the inside paved with mosaic."³⁷ The imagery represents the Passion, this imagery reserved in the Song of Songs for sober and chaste bridals.

For you must not, accepting the vulgar, superficial interpretation of the words, suppose that the Canticle is an expression of carnal, sexual love. No; it is the language of bridals with an immortal Lover,³⁸ bridals pure and chaste. If you do not divine the sense of the Canticle, go to the Book of Proverbs. Make an indirect approach, mounting by

³⁴ Cf. the Bethlehem passage in *Cat.* 11.20; also 4.9.

³⁵ Cf. 1 Cor. 9.22. Cf. ch. 1 above and *Cat.* 10.5, though there the list is mostly different.

³⁶ Adopting Touttée's first conjecture, *se bastasanta*.

³⁷ *Cant.* 3.9, 10.

³⁸ While in classical Greek *nymphikos* means simply "bridal," sometimes in the Fathers it is a mystic word; cf. Greg. Nyss., *Hom. 1 in Cant.* (PG 44.772B) and (?) Basil of Ancyra, *De virg.* 50 (PG 30.768C). Here the word not only does not imply but positively excludes any idea of sex; cf. English "nympholept" and (biological) "nymph." By an extension of this mode of thought Cyril reads the passionate imagery of the Canticle as referring to the Passion of Christ.

degrees to the Canticle. "Wisdom hath built herself a house," it says, as though speaking of a woman, "and hath sent her servants."³⁹ Elsewhere it says: "Love her, and she will protect thee."⁴⁰ This is not the love of woman, but of wisdom, which drives out carnal love. For where wisdom is stored, there carnal love is banished; not passions but wise thoughts house with wisdom. "They are become as stallions frenzied in heat":⁴¹ an urge unworthy of reason. If, then, in the Canticle you hear talk of a bride and a bridegroom, do not read into such language a reference to sexual passion (that would be to fall back to earth),⁴² but sublimate the passions by the passionless.

(11) Meditate on the heavenly lessons of the Song, a Song that breathes chastity and tells of the Passion of Christ. In describing the Passion of the Savior, it even names the place: "I am come into my garden,"⁴³ referring to the Garden of His burial. It mentions the spices too: "I seized aromatic spices in handfuls";⁴⁴ for the divine purpose reached its fulfillment. After His resurrection He said: "I have eaten my bread with my honey."⁴⁵ For "they gave him honey from the honeycomb."⁴⁶ Again, referring to the wine mingled with myrrh, the Canticle says: "I will give thee a cup of spiced wine."⁴⁷ Of the perfume poured over His head it says elsewhere: "While the King was at his repose, my spikenard sent forth the odor thereof";⁴⁸ for "when he was reclining at table in the house of Simon the leper, a woman came in and broke an alabaster box of ointment of precious spikenard, which

³⁹ Prov. 9.1, 3.

⁴⁰ Prov. 4.6.

⁴¹ Cf. Jer. 5.8.

⁴² For this expression cf. *Cat.* 11.7 and ch. 7 above.

⁴³ Cf. *Cant.* 5.1. Following Touttée's suggestion, I have changed this and the next quotation to the first person. Cf. *Cat.* 13.32 *init.*; 14.5 *init.*, 11.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Cant.* 5.5?

⁴⁵ *Cant.* 5.1 (Sept.).

⁴⁶ Luke 24.42 (omitted in most modern texts). *Cat.* 14.11 *fin.*

⁴⁷ *Cant.* 8.2., *Cat.* 13.32.

⁴⁸ *Cant.* 1.11 (12).

she poured over his head.”⁴⁹ So of the Cross: “. . . a litter of wood”—the wood of the cross which carried Him—“the pillars thereof he made of silver.” The commencement of the cross was silver, the betrayal.⁵⁰ For as a beautiful chamber is crowned with a golden roof, the whole structure soaring upon pillars, so of both the crucifixion and of the resurrection of Christ the beginning was silver.⁵¹ For if Judas had not betrayed Him, He would not have been crucified. Therefore it was, as symbolizing the beginning of His famous Passion, “the pillars thereof he made of silver.”

(12) “The coverings of purple.” Therefore they also “clothed Him in purple”:⁵² in mockery, of course, but fulfilling the prophecy; doing it under inspiration, for He *was* a King. However much they did it in a spirit of derision, still they did it; His royal dignity was emblematically heralded. So, likewise, though it was with thorns they crowned him, it was still a crown. And it was soldiers who crowned Him; kings are proclaimed by soldiers.⁵³ “The covering of purple, the inside paved with mosaic”:⁵⁴ the devout children of the Church know *Lithostrotos* or “Gabbatha” in Pilate’s palace.

(13) But this is a digression; when on the subject of the pallet, I was led on to speak of the litter in the Canticle.

He said, therefore, to him: “Rise, take up thy pallet and walk.” The disease was long-standing, the remedy swift. The paralysis had lasted for years; the strengthening of the sinews was instantaneous. For the creator of the sinews, He who provided a variety of remedies for the blind, He who gave that incongruous salve by anointing with clay (for a plaster of clay, applied to sound eyes, deprives them of sight, but

⁴⁹ Mark 14.3.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Cat.* 13.9-10.

⁵¹ Apparently the glorification (Cross and Resurrection) of Jesus is symbolized by the golden canopy over the dais or by the golden roof of the throne room. Cf. *Cat.* 13.6, 22, where the Passion is a coronation.

⁵² Mk. 15.17.

⁵³ Close parallels in *Cat.* 13.17.

⁵⁴ Cant. 3.10 (Sept. *lithostrōtos*).

Jesus by means of clay bestowed sight upon the blind). . . His power reached others by yet other means.⁵⁵

Where He simply said: "Rise, take up thy pallet and walk," what astonishment, do you think, seized the beholders! Yet, marvellous as the sight was, it was the faithlessness of the onlookers that was really strange. A years-old disease is healed, but an obstinate incredulity was not healed. Instead the Jews' malady persisted; they did not want a cure.

(14) If they were right to be amazed by the incident, they should have gone on to adore the healer of bodies and souls. But they murmured; for they were the children of murmurers, of those who twisted good into evil, calling bitter sweet and sweet bitter. It was quite in accordance with the divine "economy"⁵⁶ that Jesus worked on the sabbath, performing deeds transcending the sabbath, that the deed might convince. It was because an assertion can be met by a counter-assertion, while there is no answer to the deed,⁵⁷ that He used to heal on the sabbath; the lesson is, instead of relying on arguments, which only provoke counterarguments, to let deeds convince the onlookers.

(15) They said to him: "It is the Sabbath; it is not lawful for thee to take up thy pallet." The Lawgiver was present, and another says: "It is not lawful for thee"? "Appoint, O Lord, a lawgiver over them":⁵⁸ it was spoken of the Savior. The man who had just been cured both in soul and body immediately retorts with a wise word from Wisdom.⁵⁹ Unable to give a legal answer, he makes a brief one: "You all know," he says, "my long-standing sickness and the long years I was

⁵⁵ The text and construction are hereabouts a little uncertain.

⁵⁶ "Economy": a technical word: the divine plan or strategy; cf. John 5.17. Probably Cyril is playing on the word. Instead of empty talk, Jesus acts; and His action is economical, since He heals by the one word "Arise." Similarly in ch. 15 Cyril praises the paralytic's economy of words. Or else translate: "It was quite deliberately that. . ."

⁵⁷ In *Cat.* 13.8 arguments are met by counterarguments, while the fulfillment of prophecy convinces.

⁵⁸ Ps. 9.21 (Sept.).

⁵⁹ The invalid's spiritual cure implies enlightenment and the gift of wisdom.

bedridden, my destitution in my distress. Not one of you ever took pity on me, taking me and putting me first into the pool that I might be cured. Yet, when then you showed no pity, how have you now assumed the office of lawgivers, saying: 'You're not allowed to take up your pallet'? My answer, then, in a nutshell is this: 'I did it at the command of Him who cured me.' However little account you make of me, yet the deed should impress you. He applied no salve; He employed none of the expedients or remedies known to medicine. He spoke a word, and the work followed; He commanded, and I executed His command. I am only obeying the command of Him who by his command healed me. For if He who commanded had been powerless by His command to cure me, I should not be obliged to obey His commands. But now that His word of command has caused a palpable and inveterate illness to disappear, I have every right to listen to Him to whom my disease listened and, listening, was ended. He who made me well, he it was who said to me: 'Take up your bed.' "

(16) The *miraculé* did not know the identity of his healer. We have here a striking instance of our Savior's shunning of vaingloriousness. For after working the cure He turned aside to avoid receiving recognition for the cure. We do just the opposite. If we are fortunate enough to have a vision in a dream or to succor someone by the imposition of hands or to drive out a devil by invoking the Lord,⁶⁰ so far are we from hiding our little triumph that, even unprompted, we boast about it. Jesus gives us an object lesson in not talking about oneself. After the cure He immediately turned aside to avoid recognition.⁶¹ He comes and goes as the occasion calls. When it was proper to prevent the acclaim of the achievement, He withdraws; only when the crowds had gone did He re-

⁶⁰ For these charismata characteristic of the early Church, cf. *Cat.* 1.5; 5.9, 11; 17.37.

⁶¹ Cf. John 5.13.

appear to add spiritual to physical healing,⁶² saying: "Behold, you are well: sin no more."⁶³

(17) He is a versatile doctor, sometimes healing the soul first, and then the body, sometimes following the reverse order. "Leave your sinful ways, lest something worse befall you," He says, through one teaching many. For the warning is addressed not alone to the man in the Gospel, but to all of us. For if ever we find ourselves afflicted by sickness, grief or trouble, let no one lay it to God's charge: "for God cannot be tempted by evil, and himself tempts no man."⁶⁴ Each of us is scourged, "fast bound with the ropes of his own sins."⁶⁵

"Sin no more, lest something worse befall you." Listen to the saying, Everyman. Let him who before was a fornicator slough off his lust; let him who before was avaricious become generous in almsgiving; let the thief pay heed: "Sin no more." Great is God's forbearance, lavish His grace. But let not His exceeding patience breed contempt. Do not make God's long-suffering a pretext for continuing in sin. Take the cure for your carnal passions, so that you too can say, in the words of the lesson so appropriately read: "For what time we were in the flesh, the sinful passions, which were aroused by the law, were at work in our members."⁶⁶ If the Apostle says, "What time we were in the flesh," he was not speaking of our mortal envelope of flesh but of the deeds of the flesh. He was himself, indeed, still clad in the flesh when he said,

⁶² Cf. *epagagēi* in *Cat.* 10.13. In 10.13 the paralytic's soul is cured first. As evidence against identity of authorship this is counterbalanced by the common interest in the question of the order of healing in *Cat.* 10.13 and chs. 16-17 of the present sermon. In *Cat.* 10.13 Cyril, perhaps using a classified collection of miracle stories, may have been misled by the order of events in the cure of the different paralytic in Mark 2.2-12, where the soul is cured first. Moreover there is quite a strong case, from text and context, for translating here: "to let the man know that his soul had been cured along with his body"; the cripple's soul has already been cured in ch. 15 (*init.*).

⁶³ John 5.14.

⁶⁴ James 1.13.

⁶⁵ Cf. Prov. 5.22.

⁶⁶ Rom. 7.5.

"What time we were in the flesh." It is in the sense in which, when the deluge was preparing, God said: "My spirit shall not remain in these men, because they are flesh"⁶⁷ (the spirit being perverted to fleshly appetite), that the Apostle says: "When we were in the flesh."

(18) Let no one, then, be "in the flesh"; but, being in the flesh, let him not walk according to the flesh. The Apostle does not mean that, to avoid sin, we should withdraw altogether from the world, but that, being in the flesh, we should make the flesh our servant and not be ruled by it. Let us not be slaves, but masters, in our own house. Let us be moderate in our eating, not allowing ourselves to be carried away by gluttony. So, bridling our appetite, we shall govern also its henchman, lust. Let the soul rule the body and not be at the beck and call of animal instinct.

"Sin no more, lest something worse befall you." It is a warning to all; God grant that all ears may hear it. For it is not always that the fleshly ear, when it receives a message, transmits it to the mind. That is why the Savior, when addressing those who had "ears of flesh," said, "If you have ears that can hear, then hear."⁶⁸

(19) Let everyone, then, give ear to Jesus and "sin no more." Let us, rather, hasten to the great Pardoner. Are we ill? Let us have recourse to Him. Is it a sickness of the soul that ails us? Let us become disciples of the physician of knowledge. Are we hungry? Let Him give us bread. Are we dead? Let Him raise us to life. Have we grown old in ignorance? Let us beg wisdom of Wisdom.

*Version (a)*⁶⁹

(20) But our argument has led us to protract our dis-

*Version (b)*⁶⁹

(20) But my sermon has betrayed me into wordiness,

⁶⁷ Gen. 6.3.

⁶⁸ Matt. 11.15.

⁶⁹ After the first sentence the two MSS differ markedly. Version (a) following the *textus receptus*, that of Touttée and Reischl-Rupp, which follows B with Touttée's emendation of *lalei* to *kalei* ("summons").

course, and maybe we are standing in the way of our Father's teaching. The hour summons us to attend to mightier words than mine that, aided by mightier works, we may by those works send up our praise to God, to whom be the glory now and forever, through all eternity. Amen.

and I am, maybe, standing in the way of its practical lesson. God grant that all of us may heed the Savior's words, that, aided by mightier works, we may send up, *etc.*

The "father" is then presumed to be the bishop, due to preach last. But "mightier words" then seems fulsome and after the mounting emphasis, since ch. 14, on the contrast between words and deeds the announcement that the sequel is to be yet another sermon seems an anticlimax, all the more odd when the words/deeds contrast is continued in ch. 20 itself. One would expect the "mightier words" to be some quoted words of the Savior, as in fact R represents them: presumably the words "Sin no more," i.e., the practical lesson of the Sermon. So version (b) follows R but emends *patrikēs didaskalias* ("Father's teaching") to *praktikēs didaskalias*, "practical lesson, "moral." In the Origenist tradition the comparative importance of *theōria* and *praxis*, contemplation or study and action or conduct, was a regular question. The (b) version is compatible with a number of possibilities, single or combined: some form of confession of sins, the Eucharist, Christian living in the world.

If *patrikēs* is wrong, the Sermon could have been preached by Cyril any time up to 386.

*LETTER TO
CONSTANTIUS*

(Epistolē pros Kōnstantion)

Translated by
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INTRODUCTION

IN THIS LETTER to the Emperor Constantius II,¹ written shortly after his accession to the see of Jerusalem,² St. Cyril announces the appearance of a luminous cross (perhaps actually a parhelion) in the sky over Jerusalem. The genuineness of the letter, although not entirely unchallenged, is incontestable, apart from the concluding sentences, which, with their *homoousion* ("consubstantial") and repetitiousness, are obviously spurious.³

Cyril is known as the author of such a letter by Sozomen, Theophanes and the Armenian tradition. Moreover, the event which occasioned the letter unquestionably occurred, being attested by Sozomen⁴ and Philostorgius.⁵ The rococo style is certainly rather different from Cyril's ordinary manner, but Cyril could be ornate, and it is easy to imagine him producing this effusion after an evening browsing over the imperial correspondence in the Jerusalem chancery, to which he had just gained access. In those archives he would no doubt have found the original of Constantine's elaborate letter to Macarius.⁶ If Cyril took that letter as supplying the model for his own *stylus curiae*, it would explain why, amid the high-flown phraseology and elusive, breathless syntax of his

1 See Telfer's valuable notes.

2 "Epistolary firstfruits," chs. 1 and 7.

3 As J. Quasten, *Patrology* III (Utrecht etc. 1960) 368, and others have pointed out, the Nicene doxology was presumably added by a scribe bent on edification: an unnecessary attempt to vindicate Cyril's orthodoxy.

4 H.E. 4.5.

5 Philostorgius (H.E. 3.26), while aware that the apparition occurred at Jerusalem, unaccountably speaks of it as being seen in the field of battle at Mursa.

6 Reproduced by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 2.29-31.

own epistle, it is sometimes so difficult to discover what is actually being said. If the letter were not genuine, it must be either a forgery or a medieval rhetorical exercise, but it would defy the highest skill of forger or student to catch so well the distinctive Cyrilline theological interests, the historical moment and the *exalté* style so natural to the occasion. In spite of one or two puzzles, therefore, the authenticity of the letter must be accepted. It is at first sight surprising that the apparition of the Cross at Jerusalem does not lead Cyril to mention the comparable vision of the Cross by Constantine in 312. But to have done so would have been tactless, as Constantius had not himself been privileged to see the Jerusalem apparition; nor do the Lenten Lectures mention Constantine's vision; a forger would probably have mentioned it. Cyril shows himself the more accomplished courtier by comparing (ch. 3) the discovery of the Jerusalem holy places on *earth* during Constantine's reign with the recent apparition of the holy Cross in the heavens.

Cyril's letter, written in 350 or 351, perhaps on May 7, is closely related to the political situation and the greatest military crisis of Constantius' life. From 18 January 350, when the usurper Magnentius was proclaimed emperor at Autun, until his decisive defeat at Mursa (Essek) 28 September 351, Constantius was faced with a very dangerous situation. The revolt was swiftly followed by the murder of the Western Emperor, Constantius' brother Constans, and the West immediately aligned itself solidly behind Magnentius. Italy and Africa soon rallied to the usurper, and Vetranio, proclaimed Illyrian Emperor 1 March 350, though at first pledging loyalty to Constantius, was by May feigning (probably) alliance with Magnentius. About June an embassy from Magnentius and Vetranio proposed to Constantius, now freed from the war on the Persian frontier, that he recognize Magnentius as co-Augustus in the West, at the same time giving his sister Constantia in marriage to Magnentius and

himself wedding Magnentius's daughter. Though anxious to avoid the fearful bloodshed of a civil war, Constantius did not feel free to raise his brother's murderer to his throne. He rejected the proposals. In December 350 Constantius and Vetranio met in the presence of their armies. When the latter's troops declared for Constantius, Vetranio surrendered his diadem to him. It is perhaps to this that Cyril alludes in chapter 2, though various cities also seem to have offered Constantius crowns, as a pledge of their loyalty, in the course of his progress westward to confront Magnentius.

After the murder of Constans, Constantius proclaimed himself sole Emperor; and, concerned for the dynastic succession, in March 351 he elevated his nephew Gallus to the rank of Caesar, changed his name to Flavius Claudius Constantius, and married him to his sister Constantia, thus making him *frater Augusti*.⁷

Magnentius was a barbarian and a pagan but, as soon as he appreciated the numerical strength and commitment of pro-Nicene Christianity in the West, he proclaimed himself a champion of Nicene Christianity. Hoping to win Egypt, he made overtures to St. Athanasius, who received his ambassadors and was almost certainly in sympathy, and perhaps in secret correspondence, with him. It is all the more interesting, therefore, to see St. Cyril addressing Constantius in terms of cordial, even flattering, respect and hinting (chs. 2 and 3) that he surpasses the great Constantine in *eusebeia* (piety, orthodoxy). For Constantius has been commonly described by ancient and modern Church historians as "arianizing," though Sozomen was probably right in classing him as a homoeousian.⁸ If so, his views on the Trinity were much the same as Cyril's own—and equally far from Arianism. Cyril may even have been right (he was well placed to know) in implying (ch. 2) that the Emperor was something of a

⁷ N. H. Baynes, in *Cambridge Medieval History* 1 (New York 1911) 60.

⁸ Sozomen, 3.18.103. See Vol. 1, p. 52.

theologian; briefed by his theological *periti* (it was only from late 351 to 360 that Valens and Ursacius monopolized this role), he may have understood the *Problematik* of the Trinitarian question better than some later theologians. Socrates is probably antedating events by a year or two when he says (cf. H.E. 2.26, 27) that it was at this time that Constantius "in an ungovernable fury commanded [Athanasius] to be put to death wherever he might be found" and that the war between Constantius and Magnentius was paralleled by the ferocity of the war between the pro-Nicene and anti-Nicene Christians. But it is certain that from about the summer of 350 Constantius suspected Athanasius of conspiring with Magnentius against him, and the Eastern bishops were meditating the overthrow of Athanasius, who had only owed his restoration to the influence of Constans. The letter is, therefore, an important source for the biography of Cyril. It must, however, be remembered that by 355 Cyril was at loggerheads (but over what—theology or cathedral rivalries?) with Acacius, who had Constantius confirm his deposition in January 360.

Why did Cyril assume that the apparition of the shining Cross was an omen of victory for Constantius? Because it appeared during Constantius' reign? Because it appeared in the East? Because Magnentius was a pagan? Even this last consideration, however, is too general to be altogether satisfactory. It would make much better sense—it would be more specific and pointed in view of the heavily underlined and repeated insistence (ch. 4) that the brilliance of the Cross outshone and "conquered" the *sun*—if, while the troops of Constantius marched under Constantine's Christian standard, the Chi-rho or labarum, Magnentius had at some period adopted some emblem of paganism, now synthetically represented by the Sun-God, *Sol Invictus*. But the epigraphic and numismatic evidence so far available is against this. While some of the titles of Magnentius found in inscriptions might

be construed as an appeal to antique, pre-Christian *Romanità*, it is certain that he issued some coins with a Christian, anti-Arian symbol. By no means all, however, of the relevant numismatic evidence has as yet been published; when the long-awaited eighth volume of *Roman Imperial Coinage* appears, it may throw some further light on this question and at the same time establish the date of Cyril's letter. The present state of the evidence points, on the whole, to 351, although Cyril's description of his letter as his "epistolary firstfruits" favours 350.

Probably the letter also contains an urgent, though diplomatically veiled, invitation to Constantius to receive Baptism, preferably (ch. 7) at Jerusalem, to avoid the risk of dying unbaptized either in battle or on the Last Day. For Cyril relates the heavenly apparition to the sign of the Son of Man in the eschatological discourse in Matt. 24, where it presages the coming of Antichrist and the End (Matt. 24.30). How else explain the passage⁹ where Cyril implores the Emperor to read and re-read, for his soul's good, the whole context, and especially the sequel, of Matt. 24.30? Almost half of the letter is meaningful only within Cyril's view of baptismal illumination as converting *pistis* (faith) into *gnōsis* through the demonstration of the Christian verities by miracle and, especially, the fulfillment of prophecy. Cyril tells the Emperor, already quite an adept owing to his private studies (ch. 2), that for him the shining Cross, both as miracle and fulfillment of prophecy, supplies the demonstration which ordinary catechumens received in the Lenten Lectures.¹⁰ The Emperor is qualified to receive baptism. Within this pattern the exhortation (ch. 5) to "build knowledge upon faith" hints that the sacramental counterpart of the "gnosis" supplied by the demonstration is baptism, while the "salvation wrought in Jerusalem" (ch. 7) was, in Cyril's view, mediated by baptism,

⁹ Ch. 6.

¹⁰ *Letter*, chs. 1, 2, 4 (end), 6. See Vol. 1, *Introd.*, pp. 6-9.

which he held¹¹ to be an indispensable means of salvation. Nor does this theme in the letter contradict Cyril's statement that in the portent in the skies Heaven had manifested its favour towards Constantius. For there was no law about the time for baptism; only the danger of death in which Constantius now stood and the imminence of the End introduced a new element into the situation. In the event Constantius did not take Cyril's advice; he was, like his father, baptized on his deathbed by an Arian. But he took no risks either. At Mursa, instead of plunging at the head of his knights into the thickest of the fray he stayed in the town, awaiting news of the outcome, attended by Valens, the local ordinary, no doubt with a pitcher of water handy.¹²

¹¹ *Cat.* 3.4, 10.

¹² Theodoret (*H. E.* 3.1) relates that on the eve of one of the battles in the war against Magnentius, Constantius mustered his troops and urged them to be baptized before the battle.

THE LETTER TO CONSTANTIUS

Letter of the Blessed Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem, to the most godly Emperor Constantius, the seventh of May, concerning the sign of the luminous Cross which appeared in the heavens and was seen at Jerusalem.¹

(1) From Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, to the most Sacred and Godly Emperor Constantius Augustus—Greetings in the Lord.

This, my first letter from Jerusalem, I send as firstfruits to your Sacred Majesty, a tribute which it befits you to receive and me to offer. Herein your Majesty will find no effusive compliments, no appeals to credulity tricked out in rhetoric's finery, but the straightforward report of a supernatural, heavenly vision, a vision which guarantees to your Majesty the truth of the predictions contained in the Holy Gospels² and now fulfilled by the event.

(2) Let those who have the means crown your Majesty's precious head, bringing many a golden diadem studded with gleaming jewels; we offer you no earthly crown (nay, to the earth earth's gifts return), but hasten to bring your Reverence knowledge of the marvels which, in your sacred reign, God has wrought in the heavens. If I speak of "knowledge," it is no first introduction to divinity I mean (rather is your piety³ a lesson to others) but only the certification of what you have this long time known. So may you, who already

¹ The title is from the manuscripts, but is not part of Cyril's text.

² Matt. 24.30; cf. ch. 6 below.

³ Or "orthodoxy" (*eusebeia*).

sit upon the throne of your great father, both face the foe with livelier confidence when apprised of the more dazzling diadems with which Heaven has adorned you and, as befits the hour, now more than ever give thanks and praise to the King of Kings, who, by showing forth these marvels in your reign, has given concrete proof of his benevolence towards your Majesty.

(3) For if in the days of your Imperial Father, Constantine of blessed memory, the saving wood of the Cross was found in Jerusalem (divine grace granting the finding of the long hidden holy places to one who nobly aspired to sanctity), now, Sire, in the reign of your most godly Majesty, as if to mark how far your zeal excels your forebear's piety, not from the earth but from the skies marvels appear: the trophy of the victory over death of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, even the holy Cross, flashing and sparkling with brilliant light, has been seen at Jerusalem.

(4) During these holy days of the holy Paschal season, [on the Nones of May]⁴ at about nine in the morning, a gigantic luminous cross was seen in the sky above holy Golgotha, extending as far as the holy Mount of Olives; not seen by one or two only, but clearly visible to the whole population of the city; nor, as might be expected, quickly vanishing like an optical illusion, but suspended for several hours above the earth before the general gaze and by its dazzling splendor conquering⁵ the sun's rays; for clearly, conquered⁵ by them, it would have been obscured—had not its own more powerful blaze eclipsed the sun. Immediately the whole population, overcome with joy mingled with fear of the heavenly vision, hastened to the Holy Church: young and old, people of both sexes and every age, even to the maidens closeted in their

⁴ Missing from about half the manuscripts.

⁵ *Nikēsas, nikōmenos*: the cross seen by Constantine in the skies carried the inscription "By this, conquer." Did Magnentius at some period adopt the symbol of the Sun God on arms, standards, or coins? See Introduction.

homes, local and foreign Christians, as well as visiting pagans—all with one accord, and as with a single voice, extolling Christ Jesus our Lord, the Only-begotten Son of God, the worker of wonders. For were they not the sensible recipients of an object lesson that the holy doctrine of the Christians “is not in the persuasive words of wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power,”⁶ a doctrine not announced only by men, but now attested by God from Heaven?

(5) We citizens of Jerusalem, therefore, eyewitnesses of this astonishing miracle, have paid, and shall further pay to God, the Universal King, and to the Only-begotten Son of God, fitting adoration joined to thanksgiving. We have offered, and will continue to offer, fervent prayers in the holy places on behalf of your Sacred Majesty. Since, rather than bury in silence this heavenly vision, it is our duty to announce the good news to your godly Majesty, we have immediately made haste to do so in this letter, to the end that, rearing upon the sound foundation of your previous faith the knowledge afforded by this fresh demonstration⁷ from on high, with unshakable confidence in our Lord Jesus Christ and filled with all your customary courage as one who has God himself for an ally, you may boldly advance the standard of the Cross, riding with the very banner that streamed in the skies, glory's own device, the badge which redoubled Heaven's exultation upon the manifestation of even its semblance to mankind.

(6) In this miracle, your most Sacred Majesty, testimonies of the Prophets and the holy words of Christ contained in the Gospels find their fulfillment—though they will be more amply fulfilled hereafter.⁸ For in the Gospel according to

⁶ 1 Cor. 2.4.

⁷ *Pistis, gnōsis, epideichthentōn*/.; cf. *apodeixis* (“demonstration”) above, ch. 4.

⁸ Does this mean that the present vision is only a preliminary rehearsal of what will in the future be enacted on a grander scale (the eschatological sign itself) or that the appearance of the Cross is

Matthew, the Savior, imparting the knowledge of future events to his blessed Apostles, and through them to later generations of Christians, declared plainly beforehand: "And then will appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven."⁹ When you take in your hands, according to your wont, the sacred book of the Gospels, you will find written there the predictions of this prodigy. I urge you above all men, Sire, to peruse this prophecy with the more anxious attention on account of the whole context of the passage; for the predictions of our Savior demand the most reverent study if we are to escape injury at the hands of the opposing Power.

(7) These epistolary firstfruits I offer to your most Sacred Majesty. This, my first utterance from Jerusalem, I address to you, my true and devout fellow worshipper of Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, our Savior—of Him who, in accordance with the divine Scriptures, wrought the salvation of the world in Jerusalem, here trampling upon death, by His own precious blood blotting out the sins of men and making available life, immortality and the spiritual, heavenly grace to all who believe.¹⁰ May His power and His grace gladden and preserve you, distinguished by ever greater and more brilliant advances in holiness and proudly rejoicing in noble scions¹¹ of your royal line. May God Himself, the King of

the first scene in the eschatological drama, the remainder of which is now due to unfold? See Matt. 24.15-51.

⁹ Matt. 24.30.

¹⁰ Note the baptismal phraseology.

¹¹ In the summer of 350 the usurper Magnentius offered peace to Constantius on condition that the Emperor recognize him as co-Augustus in the West, at the same time giving his sister Constantia in marriage to Magnentius and himself wedding Magnentius' daughter. Constantius rejected these terms. Telfer (p. 198) has pointed out that Magnentius' proposals imply that Constantius' first wife was dead by summer 350, when Constantius would consequently have been a childless widower. Some years later Constantius married Aurelia Eusebia, and Telfer suggests that at the time of Cyril's letter the Emperor had already announced his intention to marry again, and that this explains Cyril's reference to "royal scions." This ingenious suggestion is the likeliest explanation. Yet if (as Telfer seems to allow) the Emperor was probably not yet betrothed to Eusebia, Cyril would hardly have wished children upon him. Two alternative possibilities

Kings, the bestower of all goodness, guard and keep you, with all your House, for many a long peaceful year to be the glory of Christians and the world.

(8) May the God of all vouchsafe to us your most Sacred and August Majesty in good health, together with all your House, for many a long and peaceful year, adorned with every virtue, displaying your customary solicitude for the holy churches and for the Roman Empire, illustrious for ever more brilliant feats of godliness, ever glorifying the Holy [and Consubstantial] Trinity,¹² our true God, to whom is due all glory forever and ever. Amen.

suggest themselves. Perhaps—an hypothesis concerning which there is no evidence either way—Constantius's first wife in May 350 was expecting a child but died soon afterwards in childbirth. Alternatively, when (March 351)), marrying his nephew Gallus to his sister and bestowing upon him the imperial rank and name, Constantius may have announced that he would regard any children of the union as his own. *Enabrynomenon* ('proudly delighting'), however, and the fact that in 351 the Emperor was only thirty-nine tell against this hypothesis.

- 12 'Consubstantial' is certainly an interpolation. Probably most or all of this last chapter is spurious. Several of its phrases are repeated from ch. 7, the doxology seems inappropriate in a letter of this sort, and ch. 7 would provide a good conclusion. The repetitions are odd; conceivably ch. 8 is, apart from the "consubstantial," an alternative draft of his conclusion by Cyril himself.

THE FRAGMENTS

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THE FRAGMENTS

Four fragments that have been attributed to Cyril come purportedly from his sermons or homilies, of which the only complete and genuine example is the *Sermon on the Paralytic*. (The sermon on the feast of the Purification [Hypapante] is complete but spurious.)¹ Even the three sermon-fragments printed below appear to be spurious;² and a fourth fragment, which is generally rejected, has been omitted.³

Fragment 1

[St. Cyril of Jerusalem: from a sermon on that passage in the Gospel where the Lord changed the water into wine.]

He was desirous neither wholly to manifest His divinity nor altogether to conceal it (not to manifest it, on account of His contemporaries, not to conceal it, on account of those who would come after), but to underline the operations of both His divinity and His humanity, lest either the divine power be obscured or the human nature be disbelieved. For since that heresy would emerge which says that the body was a phantom come down from heaven (since the incorruptible nature would not have taken the mortal body's flesh or have admitted uncleanness, stain or spot), God, in order to convince the human race that He had truly become what

1 On this and other spuria, see the bibliography in Quasten, *Patrology* III 369, and PG 33.1183-1210.

2 Everything in these fragments points to a later time, that of St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Two Natures controversy: the subject matter, the dense, schematic, paragraphed argument, and the technical terminology. But cf. Quasten, *loc. cit.*

3 Published by F. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica* (Orientalia christiana analecta 117; Rome 1938) 10-12; cf. Quasten, *loc. cit.*

we are while remaining what He was, allowed His flesh to suffer what belongs to the flesh.

Fragment 2

[The Same: from the same discourse.]

He worked miracles, He displayed His double operation, the same Christ suffering as man and acting as God—not different subjects, though diverse modes of operation.

Fragment 3

[Cyril of Jerusalem: on the text: "I go to My Father."¹]

That the distinction of natures appears from the difference of the things said of Him.

¹ Cf. John 14.13, 28.

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